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CHINESE MORAL SENTIMENTS BEFORE CONFUCIUS

A Study in the Origin of Ethical Valuations

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

OF THE

GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

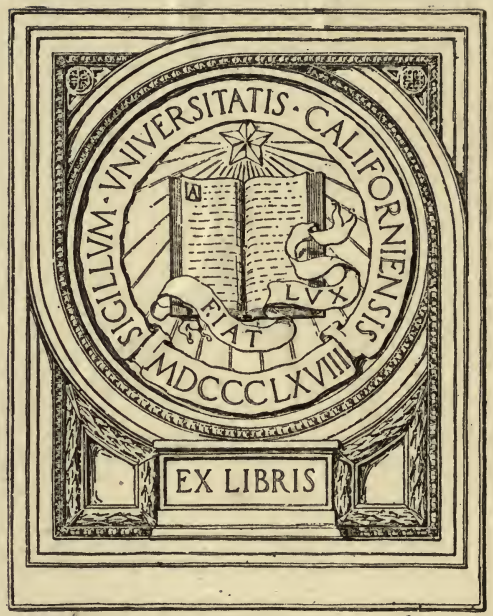
(DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY)

BY

HERBERT FINLEY RUDD

MARCH 17TH

1914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THE CHINESE MORAL SENTIMENTS BEFORE CONFUCIUS.

A Study in the Origin of Ethical Valuations.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Our Theory.

A. *General Statement.*

In entering upon this study we frankly accept the genetic point of view, which characterizes the modern social sciences. We assume that race characteristics must be explained in the light of race history. The experiences through which a people has passed must influence its whole view of life. The problems which any race meets in its struggle for the satisfactions of life, will have the determining influence in shaping its standards and ideals.

The desire for food gives meaning to the whole process of getting the food. Everything that will aid in this process becomes significant. Rules and customs are established with reference to this and all other necessary activities of the group.

People come to feel deeply about that which has seemed to be most significant in their history. That which has required the greatest struggle becomes the most immediate basis of sentiment. The sentiments of any people are thus a record and a product of their past life.

Even among the most primitive people the animal impulses must be controlled by the group interests. Certain acts are condemned as harmful to the group, while others are praised as most helpful. The man whose conduct is considered especially injurious becomes an outcast. He whose activity seems most valuable becomes a hero.

The type of conduct which meets the needs of the race in its particular situation is idealized. In this way the moral sentiments are built up.

These moral sentiments are the cumulative results of the race history and of the race reflection upon that history.

Hence in entering upon the study of a people's moral sentiments, we must know the historic background of its cultural life.

It is the purpose of this thesis to investigate the moral sentiments which prevailed in China before the time of Confucius,—that is before the middle of the sixth century B. C. The most essential prerequisite for this is an understanding of the external conditions of life and of the socio-religious world-view of the people whose sentiments we are to study.

B. *Specific Development.*

We here offer a preliminary statement of the conclusions to which our investigation leads us.

a. As to occupational influences, we shall defend the hypothesis that the Chinese never were a typical nomadic people; but that for thousands of years before Confucius, the more peaceful occupation of tilling the fields had given the foundation for their whole view of life. The evidence for this will appear in a study of the philological records and of the social tendencies which come down from the earlier times. It is in the discussion of this topic that we find our field for the most original investigation.

b. We claim also that so far as it is possible to trace their origin the Chinese were an indigenous population; that they never had to supplant another people; that there were no rivals claiming possession of the land. Apparently there were no strong, hostile neighbors pressing in upon them before the beginning of the Chou dynasty in 1122 B. C. Their early struggle was with nature, rather than men. The *stimulus to development was from within, not from without.* Their problems were domestic rather than military.

c. The family, which is everywhere a biological necessity, here became most naturally the foundation of the social order. The personal relationships of the family gave the pattern for the larger organization.

We may call that organization patriarchal, if we do not emphasise the arbitrary, individualistic

standing of the patriarch. It is the group life of the family as a whole which is the center of attention. The father symbolizes the dignity and unity of the family but has his standing *within the group*, not over against the other members. Many writers have remarked on the place of the family in Chinese society. It is for us to show its permeating influence in all the early thought life of the people.

d. We maintain that the early religion is not quite properly called monotheism or even theism, still less should it be called pantheism, fetishism, animism, or atheism. Probably the best term to describe it is *social monism.* All nature has meaning for human society, but there is comparatively little tendency to personalize or anthropomorphise natural objects. Heaven and the spiritual beings are conceived as benevolently supporting the standards of human society. But the relation of spiritual beings among themselves is never considered. This early life is singularly free from superstitious fears, having little thought of spectres, demons, devils, etc. The present life of men is the center of attention. The celestial world, if we may so speak of it, exists for the sake of men even more than men exist for it. Heaven and the spiritual beings form an aggregate complementary to human society but are never contrasted with human society.

We undertake to develop the theory that agriculture and the relative freedom from hostile neighbors led naturally to the emphasis on peaceful family life; that the family gave the pattern for the social order; that the interests of the social order were projected into the celestial world; and that this celestial world reacted in the confirmation of the social standards. Under these conditions the people developed a rare sensitiveness to the meaning of their social relationships. There was much reflection upon human conduct, and the moral sentiments sanctioning their particular type of life were highly developed.

In the light of these preconsiderations we hope to make our chief contribution in the organization and presentation of these moral sentiments in such a way as will reveal their own inner harmony and significance for the early Chinese people.

II. Sources and Authorities.

A. *The Work of Western Scholars.*

Among the hundreds of books by western writers treating of China and the Chinese, we find only a very few which deal in a scientific way with this early period.

Prof. Wilhelm Grube of Berlin has given us, in his Geschichte der Chinesischen Litteratur, the most scientific treatment of the Chinese literature.

Richard Wilhelm, of Tsingtau, is another German writer who is making a real contribution, in his series of books entitled Die Religion und Philosophie Chinas, which is to include ten volumes, three of which are already published. We have found several helpful suggestions for the understanding of the early life in the introduction to his book on the Analects, which is entitled Kungfutse Gesprache. His proposed volume on Die Religion der Urzeit will doubtless present a more thorough study of the pre-Confucian period than has yet been offered.

We have had occasion to make some use of five volumes by Prof. H. A. Giles, of Cambridge University. The most important is his History of Chinese Literature, which like his other writings is very readable and gives the fruits of a lifetime of study of the Chinese language and literature. "The Civilization of China" and "China and the Chinese," are two other books of popular character reflecting a considerable appreciation of the Chinese people. His little book on the "Religions of Ancient China" is from a scientific standpoint the least satisfactory of all his writings.

We make frequent use also of the convenient and scholarly little dictionary of W. E. Soothill, recently Principal of the Imperial University of Shansi. We have found help as well as occasion

for disagreement in his work on the Analects of Confucius.

Among the histories of Ancient China only two deserve special mention from our standpoint. The best is by Prof. Friedrich Hirth, of Columbia University, and is entitled "The Ancient History of China to the end of the Chou Dynasty." The other is by Prof. E. H. Parker of Manchester, and is entitled "Ancient China Simplified."

Prof. Hirth investigates in a scientific way many of the perplexing questions of the early history and his conclusions must receive our highest respect. Among other Chinese writings he has made an especial study of the Chou-li, or Rites of the Chou dynasty, and gives us in his history a picture of the early life as revealed in this work.

Prof. Parker presents an extensive study of Chinese life as seen in the contending states of the Chou dynasty. His chief literary source seems to be the Spring and Autumn Annals, with the commentary which is attributed to Tso-chiu-ming, a contemporary of Confucius. These two writers thus give us pictures of the early life which are most valuable as supplementing our own study, which is confined more particularly to the pre-Confucian literature.

Another side light of great value is offered by Dr. Berthold Laufer in his book entitled

"Jade: A Study in Chinese Archæology and Religion." This appears in the publications of the Field Museum for 1912, and is the report of a special expedition which Dr. Laufer undertook for the Museum in the pursuance of which he made a rare collection of jades from the northern provinces of China.

Further reference, especially on the Chinese language, will be found in our bibliography.

For the purposes of our study, however, the work of Prof. James Legge is more important than that of all other western writers. In fact, all other writers depend largely upon his translations, notes, and introductions to the Classics. Prof. Legge labored over the Chinese Classics for more than forty years with the most careful painstaking effort. He presents a list of over one hundred extensive Chinese commentaries which he has constantly used in the preparation of his translations and notes. He read all the available helps and previous translations in Latin, French, German, and English. He became the master of Chinese literature, and set a standard of scholarship of an outstanding character such as has probably never existed in the translation of any other literature. His work has been completed for over thirty years. Other translators have attempted to improve on his translations of one book, the sayings of Confucius. They have all produced more smoothly flowing literature,

but they have generally lost much in accuracy as compared with Legge's translation. Only since 1910 have the translations of Prof. W. E. Soothill, in English, and that of Richard Wilhelm, in German, made any real advance in the accuracy of presentation of the Confucian sayings. No translations of the *pre*-Confucian literature have been made to compare with Legge's. Hence, even though his English is sometimes clumsy, it has seemed better to adhere to it in our quotations than to make changes, unless there was very decided reason for doing so.

The only important field in which we can disagree with Prof. Legge is where his interpretation is colored by his theology rather than his Chinese scholarship. He accepted the theological dogmatism of the early nineteenth century, assuming that the Chinese people must have been colonists from the west after the Tower of Babel incident. Hence he has no perspective for seeing the early evolution of the Chinese people. This point of view also influenced his translation of the term for God, and blinded him to the *natural origin* of Chinese religion. This point of view also sometimes blinds him to the meaning of the Chinese moral qualities and social institutions. [See Note.]

Since this book was written, I have secured a copy of "The Original Religion of China," by Dr. John Ross of Manchuria. His study and interpretation of the pre-Confucian Classics is highly to be commended. His

B. *The Work of Chinese Scholars.*

Quite naturally the work of all modern investigators must depend ultimately upon the old Chinese sources. And our approach to those sources is through the work of the Chinese scribes and scholars of the last twenty-four centuries.

Among historians we may mention the name of Sze-ma-tsien, who wrote his famous "Historical Records" near the beginning of the first

translations are excellent and he has done a great service in bringing together in readable form the quotations from these classics which bear directly upon the religious ideals of this early period. His historical introductions to the many quotations are very helpful. Dr. Ross, however, seems to be entirely unappreciative of some of the best recent literature on the Psychology and Philosophy of Religion and his own generalizations as to comparative religion show this limitation. In particular Dr. Ross seems to us to overstate what he calls a radical introduction of dualism in the worship of Heaven and Earth at the beginning of the Chou dynasty. What change there was in this direction must have been much more gradual than Dr. Ross implies. The mere mention of offerings to heaven and to earth does not imply that the two were strongly contrasted. On the contrary, it seems clear to us that these were thought of as but two phases of the same benevolent natural order which both the earlier and the later writings include under the general term Heaven. And the philosophy implied is still distinctly more monistic than dualistic.

Dr. Ross' book is an excellent antidote to the one-sided impression given by the writings of Dr. De Groot on Chinese religion. If we take Dr. Ross as representing the Classical or Confucian religion, which is still the strongest moral force in China, and Dr. De Groot as rightly representing only Buddhist and Taoist superstitions, we shall have an impression which is near the truth.

century B.C. He has been called the "Herodotus of China." Prof. Hirth, of Columbia University, says that "with true historical spirit he refrains from any attempt at exact chronology prior to the year 841 B.C. In the Genealogical Table inserted in the thirteenth book of his work, he merely gives the names and generations for the preceding periods." The "burning of the books," under the imperial wrath of Shi-huang-ti a century earlier, had made the recovery of the early records a difficult task but one which Sze-ma-tsien carried out with great success. His own compilations and the records contained in the early classics are supplemented by "The Annals of the Bamboo Books," which were discovered about 280 A.D. in the tomb of a prince of the Chou dynasty where they had been buried for nearly six hundred years. These various sources have given an excellent basis for the work of later scholars.

Ancient History of China, p. 51.

In every century since Confucius there have been critical commentators, who have vied with each other in their efforts to elucidate the meanings of the ancient classics. Among these the greatest name is that of Chu-hsi, who lived in the 12th century of our era, and set the pattern for all the later orthodox interpretations of the classics.

Chinese scholars have had no theory that the books were handed down by the gods or verbally inspired. Their books have been considered as precious records of antiquity and great care has been taken in their preservation. But no superhuman help has ever been assumed either in their production or preservation. Mencius, the greatest of the followers of Confucius, says quite frankly, "It would be better to have no books than to believe everything they relate." While there has naturally been great credulity among many Chinese scholars, there have been successive generations of critics and commentators who have been ready to take issue with their predecessors and seek with good historic method for the original sources of their literature. Archæology too has been an added witness to the historic accuracy of the early records. Prof. Hirth says that the early period has "left most valuable legacies in the shape of monuments of national art, chiefly sacrificial vessels and bells made of bronze and covered with characteristic ornaments, sometimes also with hieroglyphic inscriptions." He adds, "Chinese archæologists have done excellent work in applying a sound method of criticism to the examination of such works; and I am personally inclined to place confidence in the results of their researches."

Legge, Mencius, p. 355.

Ancient History of China, p. 71.

Again he mentions a work published in 1804, saying that its author "Yen-yuen faithfully reproduces the opinions of famous archæologists, who deserve all credit for unbiased conservatism of judgment; and the critical apparatus contained in his commentary presents ample proof of the care with which native students have sifted the arguments for or against the genuineness of each of these inscriptions."

Op. cit., p. 74.

Thus depending on these monuments, records, and the thousands of volumes of commentaries the modern investigator can approach the Chinese Classics with a degree of confidence similar to that with which we approach the classical literature of Greece and Rome.

C. *The Direct Literary Sources.*

For our special purposes, there are two of the ancient classics which require our chief attention.

The most valuable of all is the Book of Poetry which includes a collection of 305 odes, covering a period of almost 1,000 years before Confucius. Some of these odes were used in the ancestral worship of the royal families. Others were written to give free expression to the joys and sorrows of common life. It is in the odes that we have the clearest records of the dominant sentiments and ideals of this early period. They were composed to express immediate feelings or

such sentiments as, it was assumed, men ought to feel in the particular circumstances with which they are associated. In either case they are absolutely reliable records of popular standards of the times.

With reference to the collecting of the odes, Professor Legge says, "The theory of Chinese scholars is that it was the duty of the kings to make themselves acquainted with all the odes and songs current in the different states, and to judge from them the character of the rule exercised by their several princes; so that they might administer praise and blame accordingly."

Introduction to the Odes, pp. 23-25.

"The feudal states were modeled after the pattern of the royal state. They also had their music masters, their musicians, and their historiographers. The kings met, at well known points, the marquises, earls, barons, etc., of the different quarters of the kingdom, there gave them audience, adjudicated upon their merits and issued to them their orders."..... .

"We are obliged to suppose that poetical compositions were collected at such times."

The other primary source for our present study is the so-called Book of History, which the Chinese have never called a book of history at all, but simply "the Book". Referring to its origin Professor Legge also says, "At the royal

court, and at the courts of the feudal princes on a smaller scale, there were official recorders. Among the duties of the Recorder of the Interior were the following: (quoting the Chinese accounts) 'In the case of any charge given by the king to the prince of a state, or to any other dignitary, he writes it on tablets;' 'In case of any memorials on business coming in from the different quarters of the kingdom, he reads them to the king;' 'It is his business to write all charges of the king, and to do so in duplicate.' Of the duties of the Recorder of the Exterior it is said: 'He has charge of the histories of the states in all parts of the kingdom;' 'He has charge of the most ancient books;' 'It is his business to publish in all parts of the kingdom the books and the characters in them.' .....

Introduction to the Book of History pp. 4-5.

"Confucius tells us that in his early days, a recorder would leave a blank in his text, rather than enter anything of which he had not sufficient evidence."

See Analects, XV, XXV.

These official records were undoubtedly the source from which Confucius compiled the Book of History which has been handed down to later generations. [See Note.]

With regard to the attitude of Confucius in compiling these books, Prof. Legge, speaking of seven kings who reigned between 946 and 770 B.C., says, "It is remarkable that not a single document of the reign of any of

The classical Book of Poetry also comes from the compiling hand of Confucius, and it is not unlikely that he rejected a considerable body of early literature as unsuitable for the purposes of his two collections. But there is no reason for supposing that he added at all extensively to the texts he found. Naturally this class of literature deals especially with the lives of the ruling classes, the elite of society; for, when the system of writing involves the engraving of complex symbols on strips of bamboo, we may be sure that literature will not be freely produced by the common people. But we shall find abundant evidence of democratic sympathies in the writings before us. And there is no reason to assume that there was any submerged class with radically different sentiments.

These two books, the Odes and History, are continuously quoted by Confucius and all the

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them was incorporated by Confucius with this volume. Of such monuments there must have been many. No books have here been lost. Those two hundred years in the dynasty to which he himself belonged were left by the sage a blank. This fact is sufficient to prove that Confucius did not compile the Shu as a history of his country or even intend that it should afford materials for such a history. His design, we may rather judge was to bring together such pieces as might show the wonderful virtue and intelligence of ancient sovereigns and statesmen, who should be models to those of future ages. But in the space of time of which I am writing, there was neither sovereign nor statesman to whom it could give him pleasure to refer."

See Introductory note on the Book of History, Part V, Book XXVIII.

later writers as authentic records of the early period. They are the only pre-Confucian books which are quoted at all for three centuries after Confucius, except the Li or Rules, and there has never been a concensus of opinion among Chinese or foreign scholars as to how much of the Li was recorded before Confucius. Certainly none of the books of the Li can be said to have attained their present form until some centuries after Confucius. But the Odes and History are self authenticating and mutually support each other in a multitude of personal historical references. The peculiarities of the literary style and the variety of the themes treated preclude any assumption of forgery by Confucius or any other writer. Their existence as completed books in the time of Confucius is as fully accepted as the fact that the Old Testament was completed in the time of Christ. Apparently no Chinese or foreign scholar who has studied the question has ever doubted this fact, and neither has there been any suggestion that Confucius wrote any of the odes. While he may have had a slightly more positive part in the writing of the Book of History, there is every reason to suppose that practically all of it also existed as documents before his time.

We should here mention, however, the scepticism among the best scholars as to the antiquity of the earlier sections of the Book of History.

It is generally agreed among the more critical of these that the books referring to events prior to the beginning of the Shang dynasty in 1,766 B.C. are not in their present form contemporaneous records, but that they have been written up by later scribes who idealized the early emperors.

In this matter Prof. Hirth is the most extreme critic we have found. He is inclined to think that these earlier portions and some of the "beautiful maxims of social and official life preserved in the speeches of emperors and ministers" may have been written almost as late as the time of Confucius himself. But he seems to accept all the records of the Chou dynasty (from 1,122 B.C.) as practically contemporaneous records of the events described. And he is the only scholar we find who suggests any doubt as to the completion of all the documents in pre-Confucian centuries. For our purpose—which is to understand the moral sentiments which prevailed before Confucius made his contribution,—it makes little difference whether these documents were written in the 20th or the 7th century B.C. Even if we accept Prof. Hirth's supposition as to the comparatively late authorship of certain portions, our fundamental conclusions are all fully sustained by the quotations from literature which he recognizes as having been produced several centuries before Confucius.

Ancient History, p. 76 and pp. 251-252.

Mention must here be made of the Book of Changes, which was used for purposes of divination. It is generally accepted as belonging to the pre-Confucian books, along with the History and Odes. But it belongs in an entirely different class from this other literature, for several reasons. Its purpose is not to describe the cultural life or record historic facts, but to give a technical system for interpreting heaven's will in particular circumstances. There is absolutely no reference to this book or quotation from it in any of the classical literature or other writings for over two centuries after the death of Confucius, with the single exception of one reference in the Analects, VII, XVI, where Confucius is represented as suggesting that he might well spend fifty years in its study. This supposed approval of Confucius upon which Chinese and Western scholars have largely built their notion of the early authority of this Book of Changes, rests upon a single word in the Analects. If that word were shown to be an insertion or misinterpretation of later centuries, the Book of Changes would be entirely without definite authentication from other literature prior to the 3rd century B. C. Confucius has been much ridiculed by western scholars for this expression of faith in such a book. But these scholars have not seemed to appreciate how the whole life and teachings of Confucius deny the implica-

tions which they draw from that one sentence on which they base their charges against him. He quoted repeatedly from the other books and urged his disciples to study them. He gave his life to the practical subjects of everyday conduct; but we are told repeatedly that he refused to talk about the special communications of divine will with which this book is especially concerned.

Mencius too, with his extensive quotations from all other early literature, makes not a single reference to the Book of Changes.

See Hirth, Ancient History of China, p. 292.

Dr. Faber has recognized most clearly the late date at which this book began to influence Chinese literature.

The Mind of Mencius, p. 15
Doctrines of Confucius, p. 25.

The natural association of the Book of Changes with Taoism rather than Confucianism is indicated by the fact that when the tyrant Tsin-shi-huang undertook to crush out Confucianism entirely, by burning the books and killing the scholars, he was glad to protect this book because it was more nearly in harmony with his own Taoistic superstitions.

In connection with this Book of Changes we may mention the Taoistic theory as to sex distinctions in nature, according to which heaven is masculine (Yang) while earth is feminine (Yin).

Dr. Laufer, who has made a careful study of the early literature and is a master in the field of Chinese archæology, concludes that in the early period "Sex is not expressed in this word (earth); a sharp distinction between male and female deities does not occur in the oldest religious concept of China, where anthropomorphic notions were but weakly developed."

Jade, p. 144.

"Primarily, Earth was neither a distinctively female nor a distinctively male deity, but rather sexless; nevertheless it falls under the category of *Yin*, the negative dark female principle as already indicated in the Book of Mutations (Changes) where the notion of *Yin* is defined as the action of Earth (Yin ti tao). It is certainly doubtful whether the word *Yin* conveyed in the beginning a clear sex notion which may be regarded as a philosophical abstraction of later times."

Op. cit.

Our own study leads to even more emphatic doubts as to the antiquity of this *Yang-yin* theory. We have not been able to find the words *yang* and *yin* used with this highly developed cosmic and philosophical significance in the text of the Book of Changes, or in any other authentic literature until some time after Confucius. Nor do we find any proof that sex distinctions were ever associated with the natural forces in either the Odes or the History. The

Book of Changes certainly proposes a scheme of distinctions in the elemental forces of the universe which is to some extent the basis of the later yin-yang dualism. But it is entirely erroneous to assume, as Prof. De Groot and other writers have done, that the yin-yang dualism was fully developed in the early period.

We have indicated, as reasons for not including the Book of Changes in our list of sources, the facts that it is not intended as a picture of the early life and that its antiquity, although generally accepted by scholars, is scantily authenticated in the other literature. We may add that its whole scheme is artificially worked up according to the philosophical abstractions of a special line of thinkers, and that it certainly never got into the popular life of the early period except as a special technique for the purposes of divination. Another reason for not quoting from it is the fact that, while *it is permeated with the same view of human relationships and the same moral sentiments as the other literature*, its expressions of moral sentiments are fragmentary, theoretical, and abstract. It is thus little suited for presentation in ordinary literature, and this may be one reason that it was not quoted in any of the other classics.

The fact however that even this book of the fortune-tellers insists continually that Heaven demands harmonious human relationships, as the

basis of its favor, is really a strong proof that the power of the moral system which we present was universally recognised.

The Book of Rites, The Rules of the Chou Dynasty, the Spring and Autumn Annals, as well as the records of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, are all later works, reflecting the spirit of this early period and containing some direct material from it. But they are also colored by the political confusion of a later age, as well as by the later schools of philosophy which began to multiply in the time of Confucius. Hence the Book of Odes and the Book of History are the essential literary sources for our study.

III. The Nature of the Chinese Language and Its Significance for Our Study.

Philogical studies frequently offer the best possible evidence as to racial origins, and this will prove especially true of both the spoken and the written forms of the Chinese language.

A. *The Spoken Language.*

All of the languages of the civilized people of the West are phonetically related to each other or to a common parent language. But the speech of the Chinese and of some neighboring people belongs to an entirely different type of language. The phonetic basis is entirely unrelated to western sounds. The Chinese lan-

guage has a distinctive tone system—the tone being a fixed element of each word.

This tone system is naturally associated with the monosyllabic character of the language. Every syllable is a complete word and never changes its form.

As Professor Giles says : "There is absolutely no such thing as grammar, in the sense of gender, number, case, mood, tense, or any of the variations which we understand by that term."

The Civilization of China, p. 16.

Being made up of monosyllables, with fixed tones, with no sort of grammatical change of form, the Chinese speech differs also from the languages of Mongolia, Manchuria, Corea, and Japan in that it is not agglutinative ; that is it has no addition of accessory syllables which may change the meaning of a word.

But these four characteristics of the Chinese language belong also to the neighboring languages of the southwest,—the Laos, the Shans, the Siamese, the Burmese, and to all the wild tribes within Chinese territory—showing that these people all belong to a common stock, and with their tonic, monosyllabic languages are differentiated from all the other races of mankind.

These languages, although very brief and terse in their form, are rich in the variety of expression and the suggestiveness of their imagery.

The System of Writing has a most interesting history. Sometime in the early ages, the Chinese began to scratch images of familiar objects on bamboo and wooden tablets. The images were crude but suggestive and pictorial. In the earliest form of writing, which is known to the later centuries, we have the words for *man* , *tree* , *sun* , *moon* , *hills* , and many other words written with symbols which are readily recognized as suggesting the objects which they represent.

These symbols were later conventionalized as follows: man 人, tree 木, sun 日, moon 月, mountain 山, and are written in these latter forms at the present day.

Of course there are many ideas which are too abstract to be represented by these pictorial sketches.

The Chinese scholars recognize four main classes into which the most of the written characters may be divided:

(1) Pictorial.
(2) Indicative.
(3) Suggestive compounds.
(4) Phonetic.

We have seen some of the pictorial characters above and may notice some others which are indicative of relationship. *Dawn* is represented by the sun above the horizon, thus (later

form 日). The word *above* is written thus and *below* thus . The later forms are 上 下.

"The suggestive compounds are figures pointing out some property or relative circumstance; thus the union of the sun and moon express *brightness* . A tree or a piece of wood in a doorway means obstruction 閑. Two trees indicate a grove or a forest 林. Two men on the ground, the act of sitting 坐. The sun seen through the trees, means east . The latter character is supposed to indicate that in the early stages of their civilization, the Chinese saw the sun rising through the forests of the east." [See Note.]

In order to increase the number of characters to meet the requirements of a higher civilization, the Chinese evolved a method of combining these earlier and simpler ideographic forms according to a phonetic system.

This is illustrated by the word *tu* 土, meaning earth. Having this conventional form, and having in common speech another word of similar sound, meaning to spit, they write this new word by combining the usual form for mouth 口 with the other character, thus 吐. In this combination 口 which suggests the meaning, is called the radical and 土 which indicates the sound, is called the phonetic. Since the word for stomach

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See The Chinese Language and How to Learn It, by Walter Hillier.

also had a similar sound, they write it by combining the radical for flesh with this phonetic, thus 肚. Likewise the word for a certain kind of pear tree combines this phonetic with the radical which means tree, thus 杜.

Following out this system of radicals and phonetics, the Chinese write the words which indicate manual activity with the hand radical. The names of liquids are written with the water radical. And words which indicate human sentiments and moral qualities are generally written with the heart radical.

Since the Chinese language uses only monosyllables and has always had a narrow range of sounds, there are necessarily many words pronounced alike, which have very different meanings. This fact makes it possible for one symbol to suggest the sound of a great number of written words and has given a correspondingly wide range to the use of the phonetic system in writing. A considerable portion of Chinese characters may be thus recognized both as to sound and meaning, by the constituent radicals and phonetics. Thus the language was gradually reduced to writing and the written symbols were built up, one upon another, with a gradually increasing vocabulary, for many centuries or milleniums before the time of Confucius.

Having no alphabet and no acquaintance with lexicographical systems the evolution of a

dictionary was extremely slow. The system of writing developed, as speech develops with all people, adding one word at a time according to the interests, needs and fancies of the people. Every new symbol or combination which an individual might invent had to meet the test of general approval before it would be incorporated in to the common stock of written characters. Doubtless many thousands of private symbols failed to meet the popular favor in long process of evolution.

Finally during the Han dynasty about the beginning of the Christian era, a scholar named Hsu Shen succeeded in arranging a dictionary of about ten thousand words and classifying them under about five hundred fundamental symbols or radicals. This work set the standard for all dictionaries until the time of the great Manchu emperor Kanghsi, when a special imperial commission of the best scholars in the empire was engaged for years in the preparation of a new dictionary which includes, according to Prof. Grube, 44,449 words. By careful elimination and combination it was possible to arrange these under 214 radicals and this is the standard system in use at the present time.

It is the common assumption of Chinese and foreign scholars that these 214 radicals represent the earliest symbols used in the development of the written language. Many inferences have

been drawn by various writers as to the significance of particular radicals as evidence concerning the thought life of the early period. In our attempt to make a scientific use of this radical system as a witness concerning the early cultural interests of the Chinese people, we have gone to the earliest sources and investigated the use of these radicals in the vocabulary of the Book of Odes. Here the question has been as to how many of these 214 radicals are really fundamental as suggesting the meaning of other words used in the Odes.

As illustrations we find, in Prof. Legge's dictionary of the Odes, 181 words classified under the symbol for water, and 150 of these are more or less obviously associated with the idea of water. That is, such words as *river*, *bath*, *clean*, *pure* and *deep*, may be naturally associated in thought with the water symbol. But we find also classified under the water radical the words to *govern*, to *buy*, to *help*, and *law*, in which it is difficult to see any connection whatever between the derivative and the "mother word", as the Chinese call the radical.

Again there are eight words classified under the radical for cliff but none of these offer any suggestion as to why they should have been associated with this particular radical.

Thus it appears that a great many words have lost all logical connection with the radicals with

which their present forms seem to classify them. Several of the 214 radicals do not appear at all in the Odes, and several others appear as characters, but do not perform either of the functions of radicals; that is, they are not used as the basis for other words either as to form or meaning.

It is obvious that the radicals which we can depend upon as telling the story of Chinese interests during the earliest period, are those which appear clearly in the early literature as performing the logical function of radicals. Of this class there are only 102 radicals, each of which clearly suggests the thought basis for two or more other words.

We here present a classified list of these 102 radicals which is in itself suggestive of the direction of Chinese interests in this early period; but another reason for presenting this whole survey of the radical system is that we may have it in mind as a basis of comparison in order to appreciate the significance of certain detail studies that shall follow.

19 radicals are associated with the *animal* world. These radicals are; *horse*, which is the basis of 40 words; *insect*, 37; *bird*, 31; *flesh*, 28; *dog*, 16; *bird* (of larger species), 15; *fish*, 14; *ox*, 10; *feathers*, 10; *hides*, 8; *sheep*, 7; *wild* beast (reptile), 7; *swine*, 6; *deer*, 5; *horn*, 5; *tiger*, 4; *hair*, 4; *short hair*, 2; *claws*, 2.

251 words in the Odes are thus connected with animal life.

4 radicals belong to the *plant* world. They are *grass*, 140 words; *tree*, 112; *bamboo*, 30; *gourd*, 3.

285 words thus belong, in their origin, to the plant world.

10 radicals are associated with the *inanimate* world of *nature*. *Water*, 150; *fire*, 42; *sun* 38; *earth*, 28; *hill*, 22; *rain*, 20; *mound*, 20; *stone*. 8; *ice*, 6; *moon*, 6.

340 words are in this nature list.

6 radicals are unquestionably associated with *agricultural* activities. *Grain*, 30; *field*, 18; *wine* (grain ferment), 13; *rice*, 8; *plough*, 6; *millet*, 2.

77 words are thus definitely associated with agriculture.

24 radicals are suggestive of other *industrial* and *practical* activities.

Silk thread, 67; *metal*, 30; *clothes*, 30; *gem*, 30; *roof*, 24; *valuable*, 23; *cart*, 23; *strength*, 16; *knife*, 14; *napkin*, 13; *door*, 13; *shelter*, 10; *net*, 9; *flag* (square), 8; *axe*, 6; *spear*, 4; *earthenware*, 4; *bow*, 3; *labor*, 3; *frame* (bed), 3; *tile*, 2; *measuring cup*, 2; *box*, 2; *piece of wood*, 2.

341 words thus belong in this industrial list.

8 radicals belong directly to the *human anatomy*. The parts of the body are thought of *functionally* and the words built up on these radicals indicate the use of each part. The heart suggests feeling, thinking and moral qualities; the hand, manual activities; the mouth, speech; the foot, walking; the eye, seeing; and the body is used to suggest the person and personality.

Heart, appears in 100 words; *hand*, in 70; *mouth*, 52; *feet*, 24; *eye*, 14; *ear*, 6; *head*, 2; *body*, 2.

270 words are included in this brief list.

13 radicals belong to *human society* and the *social organization*.

Man, 95; *words*, 62; *woman*, 35; *literature*, 17; *district* (governmental), 15; *town* (or mile), 13; *son*, 10; *old*, 7; *officer* (or scholar), 5; *statesman*, 3; *family name*, 3; *father*, 2; *ghost*, 2.

269 is the total in this group.

9 radicals are verbs.

Advance, 60; *eat*, 27; *reveal*, 26; *walk*, 12; *see*, 8; *run*, 3; *arrive*, 3; *divine*, 2; *enter*, 2.

143 is the total of these words.

9 radicals appear as a final miscellaneous list.

Enclosure, 9; *great*, 8; *white*, 5; *evening*, 4; *bitter*, 4; *small*, 3; *tripod*, 3; *fragrance*, 2; *borders*, 2.

40 words appear in this final list.

The total number of these words whose written forms are obviously derived from the 102 radicals is 2,016. This is almost exactly two-thirds of the total vocabulary of the Book of Odes which Prof. Grube says is "not less than 3,035 words." There would thus remain one-third of all the words in this vocabulary which at present are not so obviously connected with the meaning of any of the radicals. In many cases a thorough investigation of the history of these latter words would show that their meaning could really be traced to some one of the 214 radicals or to some obsolete form which has ceased to be recognized as a radical. But, for our purposes, the effort has been to include in the above lists only those words which were obviously traceable to their radicals and thus gave clear evidence as to the place of the radical in the earliest stages of the written language. It is quite possible that another student in a similar investigation of this vocabulary would slightly vary the number of words which he would include under some of these radicals, because it requires imagination to follow the real historical connection in the derivation of some of these words. But it is unlikely that any careful student would make the list under any radical vary more than a few per cent, either by adding to or subtracting from

Geschichte der Chinesischen Literature, p. 9.

the above lists. Thus we may consider our numbers sufficiently accurate for some general comparisons which may be highly significant.

We notice first of all, that nearly all of these radicals are nouns. The only other parts of speech are the nine verbs and the four adjectives, great, small, white and bitter. Thus eighty-nine are nouns, in contrast with thirteen representing all other parts of speech. Of the eighty-nine nouns seventy-two are the names of concrete, natural, and industrial objects. This shows the natural tendency to select concrete objects as the basis of symbols when a language is to be built up on this pictorial, hieroglyphic system. This gives a highly concrete basis for thought; but the Chinese imagination soon built up on these concrete symbols many abstract cultural ideas. This has been suggested above where we noticed that the radicals for parts of the human body are all conceived functionally. The mere fact that the heart is the basis of one hundred words in a vocabulary of three thousand, indicates a high degree of moral interest. Not only are the anatomy radicals suggestive of their functions but a number of the other concrete radicals such as water, wood, silk, fire, sun, stone, gem, roof, and door, are extensively used in building up a vocabulary descriptive of the uses to which these objects may be put. Thus *tree or wood* becomes the radical for *pattern* or *standard.*

Silk is the radical for *fine, delicate.* Water is the radical for two words meaning *clean* and *pure*, as well as for the word *overflow* which comes to mean *comprehensive.* *Fire* gives the basic symbol for the words *to burn, to cook, brilliant, lustrous, heat, passion, etc.* Thus a large portion of the two thousand words in the above lists are related to their radicals as expressing the uses which the radical object may have in human experience.

Another large number of radicals, such as bird, fish, grass, insect, etc., are used to indicate the botanical or zoological class to which the derived word belongs. Still another group, like earth, metal, bamboo, and sometimes wood and stone, are used to suggest the material of which the objects are made. Thus we find the radicals largely used to indicate *functional, generic* or *genetic* relationships.

For comparative purposes, another classification of these radicals may be made. We may take the *ten* radicals which are the basis of the largest number of words and observe the interests suggested by them. These most important radicals, arranged in the order of their use, are *water, grass, wood, heart, man, hand, silk, words, advance* or *go*, and *mouth.*

Parenthetical we may observe that the first six words in this group are all written in their common forms with not more that four strokes

of the pen. That is, there is a tendency for the symbols which are simply written, to be more widely used in building up a large vocabulary and, vice versa, the most frequently used symbols would tend to be written in the simplest form. But it is evident that the desire for simplicity did not dominate the process entirely for the *horse* radical is written with ten strokes and yet is the radical for forty words. The radical for *words* is written with seven strokes, but this did not prevent its being the basis of sixty-two other words referring to conversation, etc. Metal is written with nine strokes, clothes and bamboo with six, grain and gem with five, yet each of these words, because of its intrinsic significance, was used as the radical for thirty words in the early vocabulary.

Turning our attention again to the ten most extensively used radicals and using the simpler and slightly less exact method of including not only the words to which they give the meaning but all the words listed under these forms in the dictionary of the Book of Odes, we find that the symbol for *water* was the most prominent of all and gave its form to 181 words in this vocabulary. The symbol for *grass* is second, there being 166 words classified under the "grass" radical in this vocabulary. In like manner the *man* radical appears as the basis of *121* words, *wood, 117; heart, 107; mouth, 105; hand, 78;*

silk, 77; words, 70; advance or *go, 68.* These ten radicals are more used than any others in the Chinese language and together they are the basis of 1,090 words, or more than one-third of the whole vocabulary of the Odes. The 181 words, built up from the "water" radical, suggest mainly the objects, uses, and symbolism which are associated with water in the everyday life of men.

Combining the uses of the two symbols for "grass" and "wood," we find 283 words which suggest botanical objects; but these, being used in the poetic literature, do not represent merely botanical interests, but are used to give concrete imagery to the poetic sentiments and show how these early writers felt that the moods of nature were in harmony with human interests. The symbols for "mouth" and "words" together give 175 words which have to do chiefly with the social communications of men. Adding to these the words classified under the "man," "heart" and "go" radicals there is a total of 471 words which are directly associated with man in his personal relationships and activities.

The words built up on the radicals for "hand" and "silk" are more suggestive of the industrial interests of mankind. These together show a total of 155 words.

Restating these results, we see that the ten most prominent radicals appear in 1,090 words;

of which 464 suggest water and botanical objects; being used largely as symbols of human interests, 471 indicate more directly the personal life of men, 155 suggest the industrial interests and activities.

A study of the Analects of Confucius shows that these same ten radicals hold the chief place in Confucius' vocabulary; but the order of importance among these radicals has shifted somewhat. "Man," which holds third place in the Odes takes first place with Confucius. "Heart," which was fifth, advances to second place in the Confucian vocabulary. "Grass" drops from second to seventh place; "hand" from seventh to tenth. Thus humanity advances to the highest place with Confucius, while nature and industrial interests are less conspicuous. This is just what we should expect of a moral teacher like Confucius. The comparison may appear more exact if we classify the use of the ten radicals, with reference to the type of interest which they involve and the number of words built up from each class thus :—

	Odes.	*Confucius.*
Five personal radicals	471 words.	243 words.
Three nature radicals	464 ,,	131 ,,
Two industrial radicals... ...	155 ,,	67 ,,
Total number of words classified under these ten radicals	1,090 ,,	441 ,,

Thus the proportion of personal words to nature words in the vocabulary of Confucius is

almost twice as great as in the Odes—the Odes having 471 as against 464, while Confucius has 243 as against 131.

If we carry this same comparison on down to modern times and take the small dictionary of Professor Soothill, with its 10,000 modern words, as our standard, we shall see that the same ten radicals appear in the lead; except that the "go" radical which was tenth in the vocabulary of the Odes has dropped to nineteenth place in the modern vocabulary, while "metal" which was twentieth place in the Odes has advanced to tenth place. As to the relative positions among the ten: "man," which was third in the Odes and first with Confucius, had dropped to seventh place in the modern vocabulary; "hand," which was seventh in the Odes and tenth with Confucius, advances to the second place in the modern vocabulary.

Again the results may be tabulated as follows:—

	Odes.	*Confucius.*	*Modern General Dictionary.*
Five personal radicals ...	471 words.	243 words.	1,482 words.
Three nature radicals ...	464 ,,	131 ,,	1,206 ,,
Two industrial radicals ...	155 ,,	67 ,,	672 ,,
Totals ...	1,090 ,,	441 ,,	3,360 ,,

These comparisons show that the relative use of the radicals is fairly constant throughout the his-

tory of Chinese literature ; these ten radicals are the basis of a little more than one-third of all the words in the Odes, which were completed 2,500 years ago, and the same ten radicals appear as the basis of an equal proportion of the larger vocabulary of the present day.

Confucius had a slightly limited and specialized vocabulary for his social teaching.

The modern dictionary shows a notable increase in the proportion of industrial words.

In private study this comparison has been carried out with further detail, which it seems unnecessary to add here, but which confirms the conclusions here suggested.

From this whole study we see that the direction of attention in this early period followed the natural tendencies of a well developed, peaceful, agricultural community.

As we have studied this language formation, we see how entirely different it is from an alphabetical system of writing. It is not built up for the spelling out of sounds, but for the *symbolizing of ideas.*

With an alphabetical system, any language may be reduced to writing in a few months. It is not so with this Chinese system. It *represents a slow growth of the racial mind* and *must have required many centuries* for its development.

These Chinese written characters are living records of the past. These words, at a glance,

suggest racial history, manual effort, physical functions, the classification of natural objects, social relationships, moral ideals. There is an immense store of concrete imagery in every line of Chinese characters.

Dr. William E. Griffis says: "Speaking to the eye, the Chinese written language is the richest in the world."

The special nature of the language has doubtless also had a marked influence in shaping the thought life of the people. For language is not only a tool of expression, but also *a tool of thought*. Prof. Grube, in discussing this influence of the language, has said "One remains bound to his mother tongue. However, well he may master it, in the end he is mastered by it." In the Chinese language especially we see the mould in which the racial thought has been cast.

Geschichte der Chineschen Litterature, p. 5.

Such a system of writing does not give so good a record of the ancient phonetic values as does an alphabetical system, nor does it have so strong an influence in fixing and perpetuating the sound values. But it is far more valuable as a record of the early thought processes and has far more influence in perpetuating the thought forms. It is not so much a record of ancient sounds as of ancient logic; not so much a phonetic mould as a thought mould. The concrete symbols and the

picturesque imagery have both had their influence on the Chinese character. The common, practical, tangible objects symbolized in these radicals suggest the functional relationships and classifications for the whole world of thought. Associative imagery and symbolism rather than exact, scientific comparison and abstraction have characterized the Chinese thought.

This system has built up a concrete, practical, social, ethical imagery; and few people of the West have appreciated what an advantage this is to the thought life of the Chinese people. It is difficult for us to learn, partly because we have not gotten at the imagery which it really carries.

But it is a difficult language to write, and this difficulty, especially when the characters had to be scratched on bamboo tablets in ancient times, made every writer strive for a terse, laconic style.

Much of the classical literature is written so briefly that each word is only a suggestion for a whole picture, and it requires a free use of historic imagination as well as a dictionary and commentary to understand it.

IV. Our Task in Relation to the Sources.

In entering upon our specific task we have several advantages. There is a spoken language which clearly helps us in determining the racial affiliations of the Chinese people. There is a written language which is probably better than

any other in recording the early thought life and social interests of the people. There are definite sources in the original literature which probably are better in picturing the actual life of the times than any other ancient literature except the Homeric poems. There are thousands of volumes of Chinese commentaries and historical writings as well as archæological researches which give us many details for interpreting the early life. All of this direct material has been worked over by Western scholars, and the essential portions of it have been translated into the German and English languages. Certain historical researches have been carried on by Western archæologists and students of the literature so that numerous historical details have been clearly worked out.

But if we ask for a systematic treatment of any of these sources in relation to the great cultural problems, we shall find that the work is scarcely begun.

The philological material has been recognized at a distance and arguments have been built on the assumed significance of particular words and radicals. But no systematic outline of the whole radical system, such as we have presented above, has ever been offered. The question of early occupations has been but superficially touched upon; and unwarranted conclusions have been drawn from scanty premises. The ethnical origin and relationships of the Chinese people have

been but partially appreciated. The questions of social organization, of thought forms, of moral sentiments, of religious ideals (See Note), as these appear in the early sources, have received almost no systematic treatment. The work done on these topics is all fragmentary and lacking in perspective. The Chinese scholars have been quite familiar with much of this field, but have described each part in its local setting rather than in its relation to the larger whole. Dr. Legge lived in this world for many years and he treats many details with the assurance and insight which comes from intensive study, but the only scientific training he had was that which prevailed in Europe in the early half of the 19th century, and what he gained in the school of experience while working over the Chinese Classics.

We may safely say that no trained student of comparative religion, comparative ethics, or social origins, has ever offered to the world any systematic study of this early period of Chinese history. Hence our own investigation requires a brief survey of the related fields in order to show the genesis of moral sentiments in relation to the whole background of Chinese life.

The book by Dr. Ross on "The Original Religion of China" had not yet appeared in our corner of the world, when the above was written.

PART I.

THE GENERAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE.

1. The Question of Occupations.

In the study of race development the subject of occupations is always an important consideration. Men always tend to think in terms of their own activities. They see the meaning of life in the light of their occupations. The hunting tribes think, feel, and live in the chase. The nomadic, pastoral people shape their simple science, art, and religion in terms of their flocks and herds. The Todas of India are occupied with the care of buffaloes. Their social organization and their religion are dominated by the pattern of their dairies. The occupation develops special skill and holds attention in a system which grips the whole life. Wherever there is one permanent occupation for a large group, it becomes the organizing center of attention, the field of development of all kinds of technique, the supreme factor in determining the whole social organization.

Our civilized people of the West may look back through our history to the time when our ancestors were wild hunters and herdsmen with the mental characteristics which go with these occupations.

During the later centuries, as Prof. Dewey says, we have been forming "mental patterns

appropriate to the agricultural, military, professional, technological, and trade pursuits, the reconstruction and overlaying of the original hunting schema.

"By these various agencies we have not so much destroyed or left behind the hunting structural arrangement of mind, as we have set free its constitutive psycho-physical factors so as to make them available and interesting in all kinds of objective and idealized pursuits—the hunt for truth, beauty, virtue, wealth, social well-being, and even of heaven and of God."

Psychological Review IX, 230.

It thus becomes a matter of great importance for us to see clearly just what were the occupational factors in the early Chinese life.

Many writers on Chinese history have assumed that nomadic, pastoral activities played an important part in the early Chinese history. But our evidence indicates that agriculture has been the dominant occupation from very remote times and that flocks and herds have played a very minor part in the life of the Chinese.

A. *The Radicals as a Record of Agricultural Interests.*

In the above classification there is a significant list of six radicals, with seventy-seven derived words, which are associated with agriculture. Each radical in this list, alone, would be strong

evidence of an agricultural development. Collectively the six radicals, with the seventy-seven derived words, almost all of which carry with them their agricultural associations, give incontestible philological proof of highly developed agricultural interests. This proof refers not only to the time when these seventy-seven words were used in writing the Odes, but also to the hundreds or thousands of years during which such a vocabulary and such interests had been built up.

In comparison with the above six agricultural radicals and their seventy-seven derivatives, we may notice the two radicals for goat and ox which have seventeen derived words in the Odes. These two radicals are certainly not given the prominence which would indicate the nomadic dependence upon flocks and herds, but only appear in the less conspicuous place which is assigned to these animals in a farming community. Horse, dog, bird, and fish are all more prominent creatures in the Odes than either the cow or the goat.

B. *The Absence of Animal Products.*

The list of animal products which is so conspicuous in other countries becomes conspicuous by its absence in China. Wool, milk, butter, and cheese are practically unknown. The Chinese have no good wool producing sheep or milk producing cows. They have apparently never

woven woolen garments, although they have been weaving silk for more than 3,000 years. The whole list of dairy products has been completely neglected in China.

The common word for milk (lai) is written with the radical for woman and refers to the human product. There is another word for milk (ru) but it has just as distinctly human associations. Since the western commercial variety of milk is introduced, the Chinese have to add a word and describe it by specifying *cow milk*. The word which they have come to apply to butter and cheese is written with the radicals for *grain* and *wine:* that is, it refers to a *vegetable* ferment—a kind of curd. In the Chinese-English dictionary, we find a combination of three words: *cow-milk-curd*, which is evidently the most explicit way of describing the strange product which we know as cheese.

The Chinese diet has always been mainly vegetarian. Meat is to-day suggestive of special feasts, and the early literature indicates that it has always been a relatively rare article of food.

The cow in Chinese life appears mainly as a beast of burden and only secondarily as a source of food. There is a distinct prejudice against killing cattle for food until they are too old to work. This disregard of animal products is a strong evidence against pastoral activities in history.

C. *National Customs Suggesting Early Occupations.*

The most important royal ceremonies have to do with agricultural seasons.

It is as patron of agriculture that the Emperor worships Heaven and Earth, and that even down to our own time, he follows the ox and the plow in turning the first furrow of the season.

Likewise the Empress, as patron of the silk industry, herself cares for silk worms.

While the ox and sheep appeared in the ancient sacrifices, the swine appears in the same way, and the earliest records indicate that viands offered were accompanied by offerings of *spirits made from grains.* Thus, the religious ceremonial, unlike that of India and almost all other parts of the world, retains no distinctive marks of the pastoral life.

D. *The Stages of Agricultural Development.*

If we would ask for the particular period in which Chinese agriculture began, we shall probably never have a definite answer; for agriculture doubtless had a very gradual development throughout thousands of years.

It would seem safe to say that some kind of plow was in use for more than two thousand years before Christ; and we know not for how many centuries or milleniums before that time.

The evidence for the early use of the plow appears in the history of the radical expressing this idea, and in the other philological evidences such as the use of the radical for field which quite definitely indicates an area with fixed boundaries, which would not have characterized a nomadic people.

All of the earliest literature gives clear proof that plowing in the fields was already considered respectable work for men. We know that primitive men do not ordinarily like to work in the fields. It is an accepted rule that the first agriculture of primitive peoples is carried on by women. Only centuries of economic pressure are likely to lead primitive men to give up their wandering life and settle down to field work. But the earliest pictures we get of Chinese civilization indicate that the men were already taking full responsibility for the cultivation of the fields with relatively little assistance from the women. They have already been farmers so long that their literature, customs, and ceremonies have lost all trace of pre-agricultural life and the men have given up all objection to field work.

It is generally unsafe to build arguments on a single phonetic reference; but just on this point we find the most striking corroborative evidence in the word (lan) which means *masculine*, the word which from the earliest times has been used to point out the man in contrast with the

woman. This word is written by combining the word for strength with the word for field. It is quite natural to infer that strength in-the-field was the distinctive characteristic of men when their writers first developed a symbol for man in contrast with woman.

In the light of all these evidences it would seem quite certain that both the man and the plow belonged in the field 2,000 years before Christ.

Judging by the tendencies among other peoples it would also seem likely that for thousands of years before the men turned their attention to the plow, the women, and possibly the men also, had been gathering fruits and herbs, digging for roots, and even putting seeds in the ground and caring for their growth.

E. *The Arguments Against an Agricultural Type.*

But these evidences have not been recognized by writers on Chinese history.

Principal Soothill, in the introduction to his translation of the Analects of Confucius, gathers up all of the stock arguments for a late nomadic stage in the Chinese development, saying that: "Apart from the testimony of their architecture, in the tent-like shape of the national roof, there is even less disputable evidence in the etymology of their language—sheep and cattle figuring as

root-words in early and important characters. Such evidence we have in words like (shan) good, (mei) excellent, (i) justice, (muh) pastor, or shepherd ; and numerous others."

At first sight this appears to be good evidence of pastoral ideals. Dr. Paul Carus argues from the same words, especially the one here translated *justice*, which is made up of two words which may be taken to indicate *my sheep*. This is supposed to show that the idea of justice developed in the decisions of early judges as to the ownership of sheep. (The Monist, Vol. 15, Chinese Script and Thought.)

F. *Answers to these Arguments.*

This latter argument loses some of its force when we fail to find any confirming evidence in the early literature associating the origin of this word either with courts of justice or with the discussion of sheep. Mr. Soothill's own dictionary and one other which I have before me, fail to give the word justice at all as a translation of the Chinese word (i). It is a general word indicating righteousness or propriety of conduct, but not a technical term of the law courts.

The word referred to as meaning pastor or shepherd is made up of the radicals for ox and for *literature*. Hence it would scarcely suggest a nomadic situation.

The three words which include the "sheep," or rather the "goat," radical, and are really expressive of Chinese ideals, would certainly indicate that the goat had a place in the thought of the early Chinese people, but it would require much more evidence than this to show that the goat was ever a *chief object* of attention. I have searched carefully for the "numerous others" of similar suggestion under the goat radical, and fail to find them in Mr. Soothill's dictionary.

The word for *shame* (hsiu), and another for *deceit* (yang), are built up on the same goat radical, which, as we have said above, appears as the root of only 28 words in a vocabulary of 10,000. The rest of the 28 words give no suggestion as to whether the goat was considered favorably or otherwise among the early Chinese people.

Mr. Soothill, in his introduction to the Analects, gives an especial study to the nineteen prominent words in the terminology of Confucius. They are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, happiness, literature, learning, the way, decree, virtue, loyal, faithful, filial, reverent, scholar, gentleman, nobleman, sage, teacher and master. Only one of these nineteen words makes any use of the goat radical in its formation, and this is typical of the Chinese literature in general.

We have not assumed that goats and cattle were unknown in ancient China, but it seems

quite clear that they had a less conspicuous place in the early Chinese life than sheep and cattle have among the farm products of the British Isles or of New England to-day. We would scarcely speak of our own farmers as belonging to a nomadic, pastoral stage of development.

The notion that the Chinese roof is copied after the tent, has been a favorite theory of Western students of Chinese architecture. As against that theory, we notice a few facts:

1. We find no trace of the tent in purely Chinese life. There is *no orginal word for tent* in the literature. The word (peng), which is sometimes used to describe foreign tents, is written with the bamboo radical and suggests a hut of bamboo matting. Neither it nor the other words (chang) and (mu) occur in the early literature.

2. The Chinese roof is entirely too complex and difficult to construct to have been an immediate development from the nomadic life. Their crude materials would not easily make such a roof.

3. The tent with sagging roof is not a product of primitive peoples, but a comparatively late development, involving the weaving of fabrics. It belongs particularly to nomadic peoples living alongside of more civilized races.

4. Students of oriental art recognize that the Chinese have had an especially refined sense of beauty-of-line for many centuries. The same lines which appear in the Chinese roof appear also in other products of Chinese art in early times.

5. The resemblance between tent and roof is only superficial.

The design of the Chinese roof, as far back as we can trace it, follows not the natural lines of a tent, but is refined and always tends to complete its lines in the form of the conventionalized artistic curve, thus

G. *Conclusion as to Occupations.*

In the light of the above discussion it would seem that all the arguments for a nomadic pastoral life in ancient China are ill-founded and our positive evidences for the dominance of agriculture would seem to be conclusive.

The philological evidences without others would seem to be irrefutable. The fact that, not only the names for the dairy products are absent from the radical system and the ancient language, but that these products have never been appreciated by the Chinese people, adds increasing weight to our conclusion. A people who never used the dairy products, nor wool, could scarcely have depended upon flocks and herds as the chief means of subsistence. It is altogether

unlikely that a people who had ever depended on these products would allow their use to be forgotten while cows and sheep still had even such a place in their industrial life as these animals continue to have in China. Neither is it likely that a people who had largely depended on these animals would have lost all traces of it in their religious and social customs as the Chinese had done three thousand years ago.

We may further assume that a people who did not depend on flocks and herds could never have been nomadic. In China the signs of the hunting life are also obliterated. There is a picturesque but little used word meaning to hunt, which is made up of the radicals for dog, squirrel, and stream. But this suggests the sportsman rather than hunting as the serious business of life.

The language is strikingly limited in its power to express our ideas of chase, pursuit, capture, etc. It is impossible to give these ideas the vital interest that they have in our western languages.

Thus it appears that from the earliest times of which we can find any possible trace in philological or other records, the Chinese have been predominantly and almost exclusively an agricultural people.

Within the historic period we know that the Chinese have been little given to migration.

Colonization has sometimes occurred and local migrations have been described but these have been contrary to the general tendencies of the people. People who are dependent upon their fields must stay with their fields and that is what the Chinese have done.

Hunting, or the care of flocks and herds, always tends to keep up strife among men. The tools of the hunt are the tools of warfare. Flocks and herds lead to conflict regarding the best pasture ground. The animals too are more easily stolen than the fruit of the fields.

But the cultivation of the fields tends to peace, and to permanence of residence. Farmers may occasionally colonize, they cannot follow frequent migrations. The *tilling of the fields* therefore *tends to the growth of family life* and to the organization of families into settled tribes and nations. These we maintain are the characteristic tendencies of Chinese history.

II. The Ethno-geographical Situation.

A. *The Indigenous Race.*

The Western world has seen many distinct types of civilization: Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman. These have all grown up in close proximity and among related peoples. But the home of the Chinese civilization was separated even from Persia and Babylonia by many thousand miles of mountainous country, and there is

no trace of an equally ancient civilization anywhere in the intervening territory. The Chinese culture belongs to another race, whose color and physiognomy indicate thousands of years of separation from the ancestry of the white race.

Ingenious attempts have been made, especially by certain French writers, to show that the Chinese civilization was borrowed from Babylonia and Egypt. Professor Hirth shows how little foundation there is for these theories and gives his own conclusion that the oldest habitat of the Chinese "was, so far as their own literature goes, the cradle of Chinese civilization in the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu in the Northwest of China. If they have at any time, immigrated there from some other part of the world, we possess absolutely no record of it."

Hirth: "Ancient History of China," pp. 4 and 14-20.

Professor E. H. Parker comes to the same conclusion, saying: "The probability is, so far as sane experience can teach us, that the Chinese had been exactly where we find them for many thousand years, or even for myriads of years, before their own traditions began" . . . . . "There is not the smallest hint of any immigration of Chinese from the Tarim Valley, from any part of Tartary, from India, Tibet, Burma, the Sea, or the South Sea Islands: in fact there is no

Ancient China Simplified, Ch. XXXI.

hint of immigration from anywhere even in China itself, except as above hypothetically described. There the Chinese are, and there they were; and there is an end to the question, so far as documentary evidence goes." . . . . . "There is no evidence whatever to connect the Chinese with any people other than those we find near them now, and which have from the earliest times been near them; no evidence that their language, their civilization, their manners, ever received anything from or gave anything to India, Babylonia, Persia, Egypt, or Greece, except so far as has been suggested above, or will be suggested below." (None of the exceptions suggested affect in any way the origin of the Chinese people or of their early civilization.)

These conclusions of Professor Hirth and Professor Parker are clearly corroborated by the results of our present study. We have seen that the Chinese, with the wilder tribes of their own southwest and with certain neighboring peoples belonging to Annam, Siam, and Burma, have an entirely different type of language from the rest of the world. They are distinguished also from all other peoples by fundamental race characteristics and by special customs. None of these peoples are nomadic. None of them normally use wool for weaving. All of them have a distinct racial distaste for milk, butter, and cheese, suggesting that they have never depended upon

these animal products. Thus by racial type, by language, and by their attitude to animal products, as well as by many other customs, these people are distinguished not only from the western races but from all the peoples of India, Tibet, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Even the peoples of Corea and Japan belong by language, if not by racial type, with the Mongols and Manchus, rather than with the Chinese. Although Chinese civilization and colonization have extended over Corea and Japan, these peoples still retain distinctive marks of their relation to the races of the north, especially in their language.

There is thus a single race of people which to-day occupies all of the eighteen provinces of China, and some of the neighboring territory in the southwest. So far as we can trace their history these peoples have always been in almost exactly this same location. They include all branches of the Chinese family, the Hakkas in the southeast, the Tai and the Laos in the southwest and in Siam, the Miao, the Lolos, the Shans, Chins, and a long list of other tribes in southwestern China, and in Burma. These, people all have certain common physical characteristics. They all speak a monosyllabic language with fixed tones. None of them depend upon the dairy products or extensively weave woolen garments. They all have many common elements

in their social organization. While there are distinguishing characteristics of each group, and the mountain tribes have had a very different training from the Chinese for several thousand years, yet in contrast with the other races of the world they all belong distinctly with the Chinese people.

This great race of people has a definite geographical location. On the north the great wall is a historic monument to the racial dividing line. On the west the borders of Tibet mark the line of division between races. On the southwest there has apparently been a tendency for the Chinese and allied races to crowd over into Burma, Siam, and Annam, and to mingle with the earlier inhabitants. In the northeast Chinese influences are evident in the mixed populations of Korea and Japan. In general however as we go back through their history we are likely to conclude that this Chinese race has been for thousands of years almost exactly where we find it to-day. There is apparently no historic hint that *any other type of people ever occupied this territory. Neither is there any hint that the Chinese ever came from any other location outside of this territory.* As Prof. Parker says above "There the Chinese are, there they were; and there is the end of the question."

This conclusion becomes the more convincing when we include the allied peoples with the

Chinese and contrast the race with all other races. Apparently the allied peoples have never depended on the animal products but have also throughout their known history been largely agricultural. An immediate personal acquaintance with the Lolos, one of the wildest of the Chinese tribes, has given me first hand evidence of their agricultural tendencies. During the last two or three thousand years, these Lolos have been gradually crowded into the mountain heights. There are probably two or three hundred thousand of these Lolos in western Szechuan, living in altitudes from 5,000 to 12,000 feet above sea level, where agriculture is exceedingly difficult; yet they depend as far as possible on the cultivation of the fields. While they have small flocks and herds, they make absolutely no use of the dairy products. These people also are like the original Chinese in that they worship their ancestors but not idols, and insist on high standards of control in the sex relationships. The feudal family ideal dominates their thought as it does that of the more civilized Chinese. They differ from other Chinese mainly in that they have more highly developed military abilities and sentiments. This may be partially due to past conflict with the nomadic warriors of Tibet, to their mountain life, and to the constant pressure of the more civilized Chinese for their territory. These Lolos are thus a good example

of the modification of the Chinese type in a special situation along the borderland.

B. *The Localized Civilization.*

In contrast with the extensive territory which the Chinese race has occupied for thousands of years, the home of the ancient civilization was restricted to a very small area.

The Chinese civilization appeared in a region of extensive plains and low hills, located in the temperate zone between the parallels of 30° and 40° north latitude. The earth offers but few such favorable situations for the development of great peoples. No other ancient civilization had such freedom for extensive and intensive development. The cold winters and hot summers offered stimulus and reward for personal effort. Industry was necessary in order to secure food and comfort. The soil was naturally productive. The rainfall was not abundant, but it came at the seasons when it was most needed for agriculture and stimulated the effort to utilize it when it came.

In this location, in the valley of the Yellow River, a few tribes of the Chinese race had a most favorable situation for progressing beyond their neighbors in the arts of civilization. Not only was nature propitious, but the surrounding peoples were homogeneous and apparently also inclined toward agriculture and a relatively

peaceful mode of life. Here the "Central States" (the original name for China) developed. They were surrounded on all sides by the less developed members of their own race. A few hundred miles away in the north there was indeed another race which was gradually developing its military power, but it is probable that in the early period these northern nomads were only scattered tribes, with no strong central organization capable of carrying on extensive military crusades.

The border tribes of the Chinese race were able to act as buffer states in protecting the central group from hostile invasion.

This is apparently no indication that the 'Central States'' felt any serious menace from these northern tribes until sometime after the beginning of the Chou dynasty in 1122 B.C. The foundations of their culture had doubtless been developing for thousands of years before this time. The central group of princes, with their sovereign ruler, were the natural guardians of social order among homogeneous, agricultural people. Everything was in favor of peaceful, orderly development from within. We have been led by all our investigation to assume that their neighbors were of a common race and that they had little contact with peoples of a fundamentally different type.

This assumption might be questioned by one who reads certain passages of Prof. Legge

descriptive of the life described in the "Spring and Autumn Annals." He speaks of "the uncivilized and semi-civilized tribes that infested the Kingdom of Chou or surrounded it." He says "there is one passage in the Annals which shows that the tribes differed from the Chinese not only in their habits of life, but also in their languages." He gives as illustration of this a case in which the viscount of the Chiang-yung defends his people against the charge of circulating unfavorable reports about the state of Chin, saying "Our food, our drink and our clothes are all different from those of the Flowery (Central) States., We do not exchange silks or other articles of introduction with their courts; their language and ours do not admit of intercourse between us and them: what evil is it possible for us to have done?" A little reflection on this case however shows that the whole defence of the viscount is proof of a considerable degree of common life with the more civilized states. Prof. Legge tells us that the chiefs of these wild tribes "had titles like the princes of the states of Chou. We read of 'viscounts,' and a 'baron'."

Spring and Autumn Annals, Prolegomena, p. 133 — 134.

We notice also that this viscount of the Chiang-yung was attending a meeting of "the representatives of more than a dozen states";

that he seems to be quite at home in the situation and familiar with the Chinese customs, manners, language, etc.; that his people have been accused, by those who knew them, of passing along the gossip of the states; that he is on the defensive and tries to make the most of tribal differences in order to free his people from the charge of circulating unfavorable reports. Prof. Legge in this same discussion also shows that many of the leaders of these tribes "claimed to be the descendents of some great name in former ages of Chinese history." He speaks of occasions when "intermarriages were formed with them by the royal house, or by the princes of states as we know was frequently done" and says that the fathers of the brides would be ennobled for the occasion, and then the titles would be jealously retained.

Op. cit.

Evidently we are dealing here not with peoples of a different race but with tribes of the same race and with the same general type of social development; but tribes which have certain differences of dialect and varying degrees of advancement in a common type of civilization. Naturally those who lived in the great fertile plain, the home of civilization in close communication with each other and with the imperial capital would have a higher degree of refinement than those in more remote districts whose outer

borders brought them in touch only with still wilder peoples.

This theory as to a small nucleus of civilization in the midst of a vast area inhabited by homogeneous but less cultured tribes, is clearly substantiated by quotations from Prof. Parker who has probably made a more thorough study of social conditions in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries B.C. than any other man since Legge.

Ancient China Simplified, p. 170

He speaks of a man of royal descent saying that "Like the first colonists that migrated to Wu, he cut his hair, tatooed himself, opened up the jungle and built a town."

Again in speaking of drunkenness Prof. Parker says, "The drunkards appear to be found more among those peoples surrounding orthodox China than in the ancient nucleus."

Op. cit., p. 210.

As to warfare in this period he says "From first to last none of those ritual and literary states showed any real fight; there is hardly a single record of a really crushing victory gained by any of them. The fighting instincts all lay with the new Chinese, that is, with Chinese adventurers who had got their hand well in with generations of fighting against barbarians,—Tartars, Annamese, Shans and whatnot—and had invigorated themselves with good fresh barbarian blood."

Op. cit., p. 42.

The strongest proof that these various tribes, although differing in degree of civilization, really belonged to the same race, is the simple fact that their descendents to-day all belong to the same race, as far as there is any possibility of tracing them.

Thus we have the best reasons for believing that in their early social progress, the Chinese met no great hostile people with rival claims for the land, but were allowed to develop its resources in their own peaceful way.

We see a vast territory suited to agriculture ; a central population surrounded by homogeneous neighbors, adapting itself increasingly to this geographical environment, for century after century, millenium after millenium, with almost no stimulus from the outside world. The inferior semibarbarous tribes were comparatively easily controlled. There was no rival civilization in existence anywhere within several thousand miles of their home. Never in all the ages of the past has the Chinese people been disturbed by a great rival civilization.

The homogenuity of their own population and the great distance from any powerful hostile peoples, made extensive warfare unnecessary.

This question of warfare requires especial consideration. Among the 214 radicals, the words shield, dart, bow, spear, lance and arrow might be said to indicate a hunting, warlike

people. But such evidence loses its force when we observe the place of these words in the literature. Only two, bow and spear, appear at all in the Odes as giving their meaning to other words, and these two together suggest the meaning for only 7 derived words. We have noticed that the 6 agricultural radicals give their meaning to 77 words. Judged by this use they are eleven times as prominent as the bow and spear type of radicals. Thus the agricultural vocabulary is certainly manyfold greater than the warfare vocabulary.

Considering the "warfare radicals" only on the basis of form we find them much more prominent. They give their form to 45 words in the early vocabulary as compared with 101 words whose forms are built up from the agricultural radicals. It is quite natural that the shield, dart, bow, spear, lance and arrow, when they were known at all, would be the simplest kind of objects to represent in this early writing, that is, these objects would suggest most readily certain symbols for writing and the forms would be easily perpetuated with little reference to their meaning. Certainly the objects grain, field, rice, plough, millet and grain ferment (wine), would be much less easily symbolized than the dart, bow, etc. The greater complexity of the agricultural symbols is evident in the fact that it requires a total of 41 strokes of the pen

to write these six radicals while the six "warfare radicals" are written with a total of only 23 strokes. Thus the agricultural objects must have had a much more prominent place in popular thought in order to gain an equal place as written forms. It is possible that the dart, bow, etc., were more prominent in the very earliest period of the development of writing than in any later times, but this evidence from the radicals does not prove that they were ever the most prominent objects of attention. It does prove that although the radicals for dart, bow, etc., had an excellent start as form symbols, they were never used in building up a large military vocabulary.

Our further study and the later history of China confirms this impression that the Chinese were never a military people. [Note 1.]

Before taking up our special study of the moral sentiments as revealed in the literature we may well notice two paragraphs in which Prof. E. H. Parker expresses his conclusions as to the place of social distinctions and of slavery in this early society. These expressions will help to complete our picture of the social situation in which the moral sentiments appeared.

Ancient China Simplified, p. 40.

Prof. Parker says, "Most prominent men in all the federated states seem to have belonged to a narrow aristocratic circle, among whose mem-

* See Part III, V, and following.

bers the craft of government, the knowledge of letters, and the hereditary right to expect office, was inherent. At the same time, there was never at any date anything in the shape of a priestly or military caste, and power appears to have been always within the reach of the humblest, so long as the aspirant was competent to assert himself." Prof. Parker also says "Very little indeed is heard of private slaves, who probably then as now, were indistinguishable from the common people and were treated kindly. The callous Greek and still more brutal Roman system, not to mention the infinitely more cowardly and shocking African slavery abuses of the 18th century Europe, and 19th century America, have never been known in China. No such thing as a slave revolt has ever been heard of there."

Op. cit., p. 25.

PART II.

THE SOCIALIZED UNIVERSE AS A BASIS OF MORAL SENTIMENTS.

I. The Solidarity of Society.

It is doubtless true that every people specializes in some particular direction. The ancient Romans turned their attention to law and government—the Greeks to philosophy and art. Many peoples have been under the spell of religious schemes and theories. Primitive races have been masters of hunting, fishing, archery or other activities which were of especial significance in their particular situation.

When we look for the focal center of attention, the direction of specialization in ancient China, we find it in the *social order*. Sensitiveness to the social situation, reflection upon human relationships, attention to personal attitudes and responsibilities, elaboration of social manners; these phrases indicate a distinct field of Chinese specialization.

There was little demand for the arts of war. Trade was little developed. Philosophical abstraction was of little interest. Natural science was unknown. Religious specialization had not appeared. But men were living in intimate groups with little to disturb their per-

sonal relationships. *Mankind* was the object of attention. Confucius says: "Of all the creatures produced by Heaven and Earth, *man* is the noblest." [Note 1.]

Filial Piety, Chapter IX.

"Social arrangements," "Social duties," "Generous conduct," "Social distinctions," "Ceremonies," "Reverence and respect," "To harmonize the moral nature of the people," "The virtuous," "The guilty;" these subjects all appear in a single paragraph of the Classics. [Note 2.]

A. *The Family as a Social Unit.*

These interests all found their starting point in the family life. Children grew up, not as modern western independent individuals, but as members of a group, feeling the force of family solidarity. The family relationships were constantly recognized.

The land belonged to the family rather than the individual. "Fields and lands when once assigned could not be sold."* "The son and

Note 1. The Classic of Filial Piety, Chapter IX.
孝經聖治章第九
天地之性. 惟人爲貴.

Note 2. See the Book of History, Part II, Book III, Paragraph 6.

* Li Ki. Book of Rites, III, III. Compare Legge, Book of History, p. 198.

his wife should have no private goods."* They lived with the parents as members of the family; sharing its property, its privileges and its labors, but with no claim to individual possessions. The king strove for a beneficent rule because of the memory of his ancestors and for the hope of his posterity. The princes held their territories as the representatives of noble families rather than as individual heroes. The family meant so much that an isolated individual felt peculiarly alone. This keen sense of loneliness is expressed in several of the Odes as seen below.

A soldier separated from his parents reflects on his debt to them and laments his inability to perform his filial duties.

In this poem† the son finds a suggestion of the disappointment of his own situation in the comparison of two trees.

2. Long and large grows the ngo :—
It is not the ngo but the (inferior) wei.
Alas! alas! my parents,
With what toil and suffering ye gave me birth.

* Li Ki, X, I, 19.

† Book of Odes, Part II, Book V, Ode VIII, 2,3,4,6.

詩經卷五(蓼莪)

二章 蓼蓼者莪.匪莪伊蔚.哀哀父母.生我勞瘁.

三章 缾之罄矣.維罍之恥.鮮民之生.不如死之久矣.無父何怙.無母何恃.出則銜恤.入則靡至.

四章 父兮生我.母兮鞠我.拊我畜我.長我育我.顧我復我.出入腹我.欲報之德.昊天罔極.

六章 南山律律.飄風弗弗.民莫不穀.我獨不卒.

3. When the pitcher is exhausted,
It is the shame of the jar, (indicating mutual dependence)
Than to live an orphan,
It would be better to have been long dead.
Fatherless who is there to rely on?
Motherless who is there to depend on?
When I go abroad, I carry my grief with me;
When I come home I have no one to go to.

4. O my father, who begat me!
O my mother, who nourished me!
Ye indulged me, ye fed me,
Ye held me up, ye supported me,
Ye looked after me, ye never left me,
Out and in ye bore me in your arms.
If I would return your kindness,
It is like great Heaven, illimitable.

6. The Southern hill is very steep,
The rushing wind is blustering;
People all are happy:—
I alone have been unable to finish (my filial duty).

In a similar situation, seven sons long to comfort their mother.

1. The genial wind from the south,
Blows on the heart of that jujube tree,
Till that heart looks tender and beautiful.
What toil and pain did our mother endure!

2. The genial wind from the south
Blows on the branches of that jujube tree;
Our mother is wise and good;
But among us there is none good.

3. There is the cool spring
Below [the city of] Tsuen.
We are seven sons,
And our mother is full of pain and suffering.

4. The beautiful yellow birds
Give forth their pleasant notes.
We are seven sons,
And cannot compose our mother's heart. [Note 1.]

1. There is a solitary russet pear-tree
[But] its leaves are all luxuriant.
Alone I walk unbefriended :—
Is it because there are no other people?
But none are like the sons of one's father.
O ye travellers,
Why do you not sympathize with me?
Without brothers as I am,
Why do ye not help me?

2. There is a solitary russet pear-tree
[But] its leaves are abundant.
Alone I walk uncared for ;—
Is it that there are no other people?
But none are like those of one's own surname.
O ye travellers,
Why do ye not sympathize with me?
Without brothers as I am,
Why do ye not help me? [Note 2.]

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1. The Odes, Part I, Book III, Ode VII.

詩經卷二 (凱風)

一章 凱風自南.吹彼棘心.棘心夭夭.母氏劬勞.
二章 凱風自南.吹彼棘薪.母氏聖善.我無令人.
三章 爰有寒泉.在浚之下.有子七人.母氏勞苦.
四章 睍睆黃鳥.載好其音.有子七人.莫慰母心.

2. Odes, I, X, VI.

詩經卷三 (杕杜)

一. 有杕之杜.其葉湑湑.獨行踽踽.豈無他人.
不如我同父.嗟行之人.胡不比焉.人無兄弟.
胡不佽焉.

二. 有杕之杜.其葉菁菁.獨行睘睘.豈無他人.
不如我同姓.嗟行之人.胡不比焉.人無兄弟.
胡不佽焉.

Another touching appeal is made in the following:

1. Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers,
On the borders of the Ho, (river)
Forever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger father,
I call a stranger father,
But he will not look at me.

2. Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers
On the banks of the Ho,
Forever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger mother,
I call a stranger mother,
But she will not recognize me.

3. Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers,
On the lips of the Ho,
Forever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger elder-brother,
I call a stranger elder-brother.
But he will not listen to me. [Note 1.]

A young soldier longs for his home, saying:

1. I ascend the tree clad hill,
And look towards my father,
My father is saying, 'Alas! my son, abroad on the public service,
Morning and night never rests.
May he be careful,
That he may come [back] and not remain there!'

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1. Odes, I, VI, VII.

詩經卷二葛藟

(一) 緜緜葛藟.在河之滸.終遠兄弟.謂他人父.
謂他人父.亦莫我顧.

(二) 緜緜葛藟.在河之涘.終遠兄弟.謂他人母.
謂他人母.亦莫我有.

(三) 緜緜葛藟.在河之漘.終遠兄弟.謂他人昆.
謂他人昆.亦莫我聞.

2. I ascend that bare hill,
And look towards my mother,
My mother is saying, 'Alas! my child, abroad on public service,
Morning and night has no sleep.
May he be careful,
That he may come [back], and not leave his body there!'

3. I ascend that ridge
That looks toward my elder brother,
My brother is saying, 'Alas! my younger brother, abroad on public service,
Morning and night must consort with his comrades,
May he be careful,
That he may come back, and not die!' [Note 1.]

The way in which each member of the family felt that his life was bound up with the whole group will become more impressive as we continue our study of other topics.

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1. Odes, I, IV, IX.

詩經卷三(陟岵)

一章 陟彼岵兮.瞻望父兮.父曰嗟予子行役.夙夜無已.
上愼旃哉.猶來無止.

二章 陟彼屺兮.瞻望母兮.母曰嗟予季行役.夙夜無寐.
上愼旃哉.猶來無棄.

三章 陟彼岡兮.瞻望兄兮.兄曰嗟予弟行役.夙夜必偕.
上愼旃哉.猶來無死.

B. *The Ruler as Parent of the People.*

The family pattern was carried over to the political organization.—"Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. *The sincere, intelligent, and perspicacious among men becomes*

the great sovereign; and the sovereign is the parent of the people." [Note 1.]

The parental attitude demanded of the ruler is again expressed with striking emphasis.

"Deal with evil as if it were a sickness in your own person, and the people will entirely put away their faults. Deal with them as if you were guarding your infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly." [Note 2.]

The ruler and his subjects are created each for the other. The purpose of Heaven includes both. They are mutually dependent. "Heaven gives birth to the people with such desires that without a ruler, they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven again gives birth to the man of intelligence to regulate them." [Note 3.]

"Heaven, to protect the inferior people made for them rulers, and made for them instructors,

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1. Book of History, Part V, Book I, Part i, 3.

尙書泰誓上

三節 惟天地萬物父母.惟人萬物之靈.亶聰明作元后.元后作民父母.

2. History, Part V, IX, 9.

尙書康誥

九節 惟民其勿戾和.若有疾.惟民其畢棄咎.若保赤子.惟民其康乂.

3. History, IV, II. 2.

尙書仲虺之誥

二節 惟天生民有欲.無主乃亂.惟天生聰明時乂.

that they might be able to be aiding to Shang-ti.'' [Note 1.]

''Without the sovereign the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to the comfort of their lives; without the people, the sovereign could have no sway over the four quarters of the empire.'' [Note 2.]

In these paragraphs it is implied that the people's need of some one to serve is as great as the sovereign's need of some to employ.

''The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not consider yourself so large as to deem others small. If ordinary men do not find the opportunity to give full development to their virtue, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit.'' [Note 3.]

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1. History, V, I, i, 7.

尙書泰誓上

七節 天佑下民.作之君.作之師.惟其克相上帝.寵綏四方.

2. History, IV, V, ii, 2.

尙書太甲中

第二節 民非后.罔克胥匡以生.后非民.罔以辟四方.

3. History, IV, VI, 11.

尙書 咸有一德

十一節 后非民罔使.民非后罔事.無自廣以狹人.匹夫匹婦.不獲自盡.民主罔與成厥功.

King P'an K'ang says to his people: "Let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts and be prepared to obey me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart." [Note 1.]

This conviction that the relation between the ruler and subject should be like that between parents and children will appear repeatedly in our later study of the sentiments relating to rulers.

C. *The Extension of Domestic Sentiment to the Larger Social Groups.*

The type of agricultural activity led to the extension of the sense of solidarity to larger groups. The communal activities developed a high sense of common interests.

They clear away the grass and bushes;
And the ground is laid open by their plows,
In thousands of pairs they remove the roots,
Some in the low wet lands, some along the dykes.
There are the master and his eldest son;
His *younger sons and all their children;*
Their strong helpers and their hired servants.
How the noise of their eating the viands brought to them resounds!
The husbands think lovingly of their wives,
The wives keep close to their husbands;
Then with their sharp plow-shares,
They set to work on the south lying acres.

1. History, IV,VII, ii, 15.

尚書 盤庚中

十五節 無胥絕遠.汝分猷念以相從.各設中于乃心.

They sow their different kinds of grain,
Each seed containing its germ of life.
In unbroken lines rises the blade,
And well nourished the stalks grow long.
Luxuriant looks the young grain,
And the *weeders go among it in multitudes.*
Then come the reapers in crowds,
And the grain is piled up in the fields,
Myriads and hundreds of thousands, and millions (of stacks);
To offer to our ancestors, male and female,
And to provide for all ceremonies.
Fragrant is this aroma,
Enhancing the glory of the State,
Like pepper is their smell,
To give comfort to the aged.
It is not here only that there is this (abundance);
It is not now only that there is such a time—
From of old it has been thus. [Note 1.]

One tenth of the farm products belonged to the ruler. In some cases special fields belonged to the ruler, and the people paid their taxes by working on these fields.

1. Bright are the extensive fields,
A tenth of whose produce is annually levied,
I take the old stores,
And with them feed the husbandmen.
From of old we have had good years,
And now I go to the south-lying acres,
Where some are weeding, and some gather the earth about the roots.

1. Odes, IV,I, iii, V.

詩經卷八(載芟)

載芟載柞.其耕澤澤.○千耦其耘.徂隰徂畛.○侯主侯伯.侯亞侯旅侯彊侯以.有噴其饁.思媚其婦.有依其士.有略其耜.俶載南畝○播厥百穀.實函斯活.○驛驛其達.有厭其傑.○厭厭其苗.綿綿其麃.○載蕡濟濟.有實其積.萬億及秭.爲酒爲醴.烝畀祖妣.以洽百禮.○有飶其香.邦家之光.有椒其馨.胡考之寧○匪且有且.匪今斯今.振古如茲.

The millets look luxuriant;
And in a spacious resting place,
I collect and encourage the men of greater promise.

2. With my vessels full of bright millet,
And my pure victim-rams,
We sacrificed to the land and the four quarters,
That my fields are in such good condition
Is a matter of joy to my husbandmen.
With lutes and with drums beating,
We will invoke the father of husbandry
And pray for sweet rain,
To increase the produce of our millets,
And *to bless men and their wives.*

3. The distant descendant (the King) comes,
When *their wives and children*
Are bringing food to those (at work) in the south-lying acres.
The surveyor of the fields comes and is glad;
He takes (of the food) on the left and the right,
And tastes whether it be good or not.
The grain is well cultivated, all the acres over;
Good will it be and abundant.
The distant descendant has no displacency;
The husbandmen are encouraged to diligence.

[Note 1.]

The next ode shows further development of community sentiment.

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1. Odes, II, VI, VII.

詩經卷五(甫田)

一章 倬彼甫田.歲取十千.我取其陳.食我農人.自古有年.
今適南畝.或耘或耔.黍稷薿薿.攸介攸止.烝我髦士.

二章 以我齊明.與我犧羊.以社以方.我田既臧.農夫之慶.
琴瑟擊鼓.以御田祖.以祈甘雨.以介我稷黍.以穀我士女.

三章 曾孫來止.以其婦子.饁彼南畝.田畯至喜.攘其左右.
嘗其旨否.禾易長畝.終善且有.曾孫不怒.農夫克敏.

3. The clouds form in dense masses
And the rain comes down slowly;
May it rain first on our public fields,
And then come to our private!
There shall be *young grain unreaped,*
And here some sheaves ungathered;
There shall be handfuls left on the ground,
And here ears untouched:—
For the benefit of the widow. [Note 1.]

This last is indeed a noteworthy expression of loyalty to the common ruler and sympathy for the needy. In contrast with the cheerful sentiments in the above we may turn to similar expressions of fellow feeling under adverse conditions.

1. *The people indeed are heavily burdened*
But perhaps a little ease may be got for them.
Let us cherish this center of the kingdom,
To secure the repose of the four quarters of it.
Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious,
In order to make the unconscientious careful,
And to repress robbers and oppressors,
Who have no fear of the clear will of heaven.
Then let us show kindness to those who are distant
And help those who are near;—
Thus establishing the throne of our king.

2. The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little rest may be got for them.
Let us cherish this center of the kingdom,
And make it a gathering place for the people.
Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious,

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1. Odes, II, VI, VIII, 3

詩經卷五(大田)

三章 有渰萋萋.興雨祁祁.雨我公田.遂及我私.彼有不穫稚.此有不斂穧.彼有遺秉.此有滯穗.伊寡婦之利.

In order to make the noisy braggarts careful,
And to repress robbers and oppressors;—
So the people shall not have such sorrow.
Do not cast away your former service,
But secure the quiet of the King.

In this ode, three more stanzas continue a similar refrain.

The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little relief may be got for them.
Let us cherish this capital (of the kingdom),
etc. [Note 1.]

2. Heaven is now sending down calamities;—
Do not lie so complacent.
Heaven is now producing such movements;—
Do not be so indifferent.
If your words were harmonious,
The people would become united.
If your words were gentle and kind,
The people would be settled.

3. Though my duties are different from yours,
I (*an officer*) *am your fellow servant.*
I come to advise with you,
And you hear me with contemptuous indifference.
My words are about the present urgent affairs;—
Do not think them matter for laughter.
The ancients had a saying:—
"Consult the gatherers of grass and firewood."
(Because even their opinions would deserve consideration.)

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1. Odes, III, II, IX.

詩經卷六(民勞)

一 民亦勞止.汔可小康.惠此中國.以綏四方.無縱詭隨.
以謹無良.式遏寇虐.憯不畏明.柔遠能邇.以定我王.

二 民亦勞止.汔可小休.惠此中國.以爲民逑.無縱詭隨.
以謹惛怓.式遏寇虐.無俾民憂.無棄爾勞.以爲王休.

三 民亦勞止.汔此小息.惠此京師.以綏四國.

7. *Good men are a fence;*
The multitudes of the people are a wall;
Great States are screens;
Great families are buttresses;
The cherishing of virtue secures repose;
The circle of the King's Relatives is a fortified wall.
We must not let the fortified wall get destroyed;
We must not let him, solitary, be consumed with terrors. [Note 1.]

This poetry is thus permeated with the feeling that the ruler and the people rise and fall together. The many families have common interests. The whole population has mutual responsibilities. Orderly society brings good to all. Disorder makes all men suffer.

The sense of social solidarity is of course much more clearly felt in the small groups than with reference to the larger society. But the primary groups have given the pattern for the whole conception of life. Attention is not directed primarily to food and drink, to sex gratifications and physical pleasures, to wealth and trade, or even to their chief occupation, agriculture. But the interests which find expression in poetry are concerned with human intercourse

1. Odes, III, II, X.

詩經卷六(板)
二 天之方難.無然憲憲.天之方蹶.無然泄泄.辭之輯矣.
民之洽矣.辭之懌矣.民之莫矣.
三 我雖異事.及爾同僚.我卽爾謀.聽我囂囂.我言維服.
勿以爲笑.先民有言.詢于芻蕘.
七 价人爲藩.大師維垣.大邦維屛.大宗維翰.懷德維寧.
宗子維城.無俾城壞.無獨斯畏.

and social relationships. The *prominent objects* of attention for each individual were *the people* with whom he lived. His whole life was *socialized.* Naturally this was less true for the inferior people, the common laborers, than for those who spent their time in dealing with men. But it was those whose social and moral consciousness was highly developed who made the written language and the literature. They were in a position to set the pattern and establish social ideals for the common laboring people, with whom they were in close personal touch.

The ruler assigned territories to the princes of states. These in turn dealt with the heads of families. Thus in every small community there were leaders who formed the connecting link between the rulers and the common people. A kind of democratic feudalism was the result. Although individuals differed in their status and functions, the interests of each were to a large degree recognized in the purposes of the community life.

II. Celestial World and Its Meaning for Human Society.

A. *Heaven and Shang-ti.*

It was in their immediate life, saturated with domestic sentiment, that the Chinese found the basis for the interpretation of the cosmic process. As there was a parental ruler among

men, so they projected this same idea into the celestial world.

The individual ruler in human society was only one member of the whole social order. He might typify the unity and dignity of that order and be the exponent of its authority, yet the ruler himself was a part of the social organism, bound by its laws, subject to its moral demands, and ultimately amenable to its descipline.

So in the celestial world the *cosmic order was more important than any individual being*. The most comprehensive term for expressing this is the word Heaven. This term is used to designate primarily the sky and the heavens, in contrast with the earth. Then it is identified with the *cosmic order*, *which*, *as we shall see*, *is distinctly a moral order*. The patriarchal symbolism of human society is carried over to the celestial world, and we are told that "Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed." [Note 1.]

"Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverence this mind of Heaven." [Note 2.]

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1. History, V, I, i, 3.

尙書 泰誓上

惟天地萬物父母.惟人萬物之靈.

2. History, V, I, ii, 4.

尙書 泰誓中

惟天惠民.惟辟奉天.

"Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to." [Note 1.]

A remarkably clear statement of this relationship between Heaven and the social order is attributed to Kao-Yao, the model minister, in the 23rd Century B.C., who undoubtedly played an important part in the early development of the Chinese national organization. He is quoted as saying: "The work is Heaven's;—it is men's to act for it. From Heaven are the social arrangements with their several duties; to us (the rulers) it is given to enforce those *five duties*, and then we have the five courses of generous conduct! From Heaven are the social distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us (the rulers) proceed the observances of those five ceremonies, and then do they appear in regular practice! When sovereign and ministers show a common reverence and respect for these, do they not harmonize the moral nature of the people? Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous;—are they not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty; are there not the five punishments to be severally used for that purpose?

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1. History, V, I, i, 11.

尚書 泰誓上

天矜于民.民之所欲.天必從之.

"Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors, as our people brightly approve and would awe;—such connection is there between the upper and lower worlds. How reverent ought the masters of earth to be!" [Note 1.]

The highly ethical character of Heaven's demands appears repeatedly in these classics.

"In its inspection of men below, *Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness;* and it bestows on them accordingly length of years or the contrary. Heaven does not cut short men's lives;—they bring them to an end in the midst themselves. Some men may not have complied with virtue, and will not acknowledge their crimes, but Heaven has evidently charged them to correct their conduct." [Note 2.]

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1. History, II, III, 5-7.

尙書 皐陶謨

五 天工人其代之.

六 天敘有典.勅我五典.五惇哉.天秩有禮.自我五禮.有庸哉.同寅協恭.和衷哉.天命有德.五服五章哉.天討有罪.五刑五用哉.政事.懋哉懋哉.

七 天聰明.自我民聰明.天民畏.自我民明威.達于上下.敬哉有土.

2. History, IV, IX, 3, 4.

尙書 高宗肜日

惟天監下民.典厥義.降年有永有不永.非天夭民.民中絕命.民有不若德.不聽罪.天既孚命正厥德.

"The way of Heaven is to bless the good and punish the bad." [Note 1.]

"Good and evil do not wrongly befall men, because Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct." [Note 2.]

Although Heaven is normally compassionate, it must punish evil, especially misrule and disorderly conduct on the part of the rulers of the nation.

1. Compassionate Heaven is arrayed in angry terrors;
Heaven is indeed sending down ruin,
Afflicting us with famine,
So that the people are all wandering fugitives;—
In the settled regions and on the borders all is desolation.

2. Heaven sends down its net of crime;—
Devouring insects who weary and confuse men's minds,
Ignorant, oppressive, negligent,
Breeders of confusion, utterly perverse:—
These are the men employed to tranquilize our country." [Note 3.]

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1. History, IV, III, II.

尙書 湯誥

天道福善禍淫.

2. History, IV, VI, II, 5.

尙書咸有一德

惟吉凶不僭在人.惟天降災祥在德.

3. Odes, III, III, XI, 1, 2.

詩經卷七 (召旻)

一章 旻天疾威.天篤降喪.瘨我饑饉.民卒流亡.我居圉卒荒.

二章 天降罪罟.蟊賊內訌.昏椓靡共.潰潰回遹.實靖夷我邦.

The conviction that Heaven is ever present and understands our inmost thoughts makes a forceful appeal to the conscience.

8. Revere the anger of Heaven,
And presume not to make sport or be idle.
Revere the changing moods of Heaven,
And presume not to drive about (at your pleasure).
Great Heaven is intelligent,
And is *with you in all your goings.*
Great Heaven is clear-seeing,
And is with you in your wanderings and indulgences." [Note 1.]

By a righteous life, one may avert the evils which come in the ordinary course of nature, but the wilful wrongdoer can not escape the punishment of Heaven. This is the conclusion of the repentant young king Tai Kia who says: "Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self, there is no escape." [Note 2.]

The cosmic term Heaven was not the only one which carried with it the significance of the celestial world in the Chinese thought.

The Chinese word Ti or Shang-ti, which Dr. Legge always translates by our term God, is in many cases used interchangeably with the term

1. Odes, III, II, X, 8.

詩經卷六(板)
八章 敬天之怒.無敢戲豫.敬天之渝.無敢驅驅.昊天曰明.
及爾出王.昊天曰旦.及爾游衍.

2. History, IV, V, ii, 3.

尚書 太甲中
天作孽.猶可違.自作孽.不可逭.

Heaven. We will get its force more truly by leaving it untranslated. It is not quite synonymous with the word Heaven, but has more personal and less cosmic significance. That is, Heaven is the more common term in speaking of the creation of men and the manifestations of natural powers. Shang-ti is more often a personal object of worship interested in the ceremonial observances. But this distinction is only relative, not absolute.

The word Ti was also applied to the earliest kings Yao and Shuen. This may have been a kind of deification of these heroes by later centuries, or it may be that the term was first applied to the human rulers and then extended to the Heavenly Ruler.

In the third century B. C., the tyrant Shih-wang-*ti* usurped this title, and since that time *Hwang-ti* has been a common appellation for the emperor. Also in later centuries the term Shang-ti has been applied to a number of deified heroes of antiquity and has acquired confused and superstitious associations quite different from its early meaning.

It is certainly unscientific and confusing to translate this term, even in its earliest use, by our word God, as Professor Legge does.

While the two terms have much in common, the whole background of popular thought is so different that each term must be studied in its

own connection to appreciate its significance. The only way to familiarize ourselves with the original use of the Chinese term is to leave it untranslated. The same benevolent attitude is attributed to Shang-ti as to Heaven.

> There is Shang-ti;
> Does he hate anyone? [Note 1.]

In a time of moral confusion and popular distress we are told:

1. Shang-ti has reversed his usual procedure,
   And the lower people are full of distress.
   The words which you utter are not right;
   The plans which you form are not far-reaching.
2. Heaven is now sending down calamities;—
   Do not be so complacent.
   Heaven is now producing such movements;
   Do not be so indifferent. [Note 2.]

> How vast is Shang-ti
> The ruler of men below!
> How arrayed in terrors is Shang-ti,
> With many things irregular in his ordinations!
> Heaven gave birth to the multitude of the people,
> But the nature it confers is not to be depended on.
> All are (good) at first;
> But few prove themselves to be so at the last.
> [Note 3.]

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1. Odes, II, IV, VIII, 4.

詩經卷五(正月)

四章 有皇上帝.伊誰云憎.

2. Odes, III, II, X, 1, 2.

詩經卷六(板)

一 上帝板板.下民卒癉.出話不然.爲猶不遠.

二 天之方蹶.無然憲憲.天之方躓.無然泄泄.

3. Odes, III, III, I, 1.

詩經卷七 蕩

蕩蕩上帝.下民之辟.疾威上帝.其命多辟.天生烝民.
其命匪諶.靡不有初.鮮克有終.

1. Great is Shang-ti,
Beholding this lower world in majesty.
He surveyed the four quarters of the kingdom,
Seeking for someone to give settlement to the people.
Those two earlier dynasties
Have failed to satisfy him with their government.
So throughout the various States,
He sought and considered,
For one on which he might confer the rule.
Hating (or rejecting) all the great States,
He turned his kind regards on the west.
(To the founder of the Chou state.)

2. Ti having brought this intelligent ruler,
The Kwan hordes fled away.
Heaven raised up a helpmeet for him,
And the appointment he had received was made sure.

3. Ti surveyed the hills,
Where the oaks and the yih were thinned,
And paths were made through the firs and cypresses.
Ti, who had raised the state, raised up a proper ruler for it. [Note 1.]

The use of the terms Heaven and Shang-ti will appear repeatedly in our later studies, hence it is unnecessary to multiply quotations here.

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1. Odes, III, I, VII, 1, (2, 3.)

詩經卷六(皇矣)

一 皇矣上帝.臨下有赫.監觀四方.求民之莫.維此二國.
其政不獲.上帝耆之.憎其式廓.乃眷西顧.此維與宅.

二 帝遷明德.串夷載路.天立厥配.受命既固.

三 帝省其山.柞棫斯拔.松柏斯兌.帝作邦作對.

B. *Racial Solidarity and the Worship of Ancestors.*

It is but natural that a people in whose life the family relationships mean so much should desire to continue the relationship with the departed ancestors.

The living and the dead belong to a permanent fellowship. The ruler typifies the national unity, and the worship of his ancestors is the ceremonial meeting-point of the living and the dead.

Pan-keng in the fourteenth century B. C. is represented as commanding the people to come into the courtyard of his palace, and saying to them: "Of old, the kings, my predecessors and your forefathers and fathers, shared together the ease and labors (of government). For generations the toils of your fathers have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices, your fathers are present to share in them. . . . . .

"Were I to err in my government, my high sovereign (the founder of our dynasty) would send down on me great punishment for my crime and say: 'Why do you oppress my people?' If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me the One man, in my plans, the former kings will send down on you great punishment for your crime. . . . . .

"When they punish you from above, you will have no way of escape." [Note 1.]

Professor Legge, in describing the ceremonies in the worship of the royal ancestors, summarised the story from the Odes saying:

"The description is that of a feast as much as a sacrifice; and in fact, these great seasonal occasions were what we might call grand family reunions, where the dead and living met, eating and drinking together; where the living worshipped the dead and the dead blessed the living." [Note 2.]

Professor Legge goes on to show that this idea of a union of the living and the dead "appeared most strikingly in the custom which required that the departed ancestors should be represented by living relatives of the same surname. These took for the time the place of the dead, received the honors which were due to

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1. History, IV, VII, 1; 14, and ii; 11, 12, 13.

尙書　盤庚上

古我先王.豐乃祖乃父.胥及逸勤.予敢動用非罰.世選爾勞.予不掩爾善.茲予大享于先王.爾祖其從與享之.

又　盤庚中

十一○失于政.陳于茲.高后丕乃崇降罪疾.曰曷虐朕民.
○汝萬民乃不生生.暨予一人猷同心.先后丕降與汝罪疾.
曰曷不暨朕幼孫有比.故有爽德.自上其罰汝.汝悔能迪.
○古我先后既勞乃祖乃父.

2. Sacred Books of the East, Introduction to the Odes of the Temple, by James Legge.

them, and were supposed to be possessed of their spirits. They ate and drank as those whom they personated would have done, accepted for them the homage rendered by their descendants, communicated their will to the principal in the service, and pronounced on him, and on his line, their benediction.

"There was a great concourse of the feudal princes, and much importance was attached to the presence among them of the representatives of former dynasties; but the duties of the occasion devolved mainly on the princes of the same surname as the royal house. Libations of fragrant spirits were made, especially in the Chou period, to attract the spirits, and their presence was invoked by a functionary who took his place inside the principal gate. The principal victim, a red bull in the temple of Chou, was killed by the king himself, using for the purpose a knife to the handle of which small bells were attached. With this, he laid bare the hair to show that the animal was of the right color, inflicted the wound of death, and cut away the fat, which was burned along with the southern wood to increase the incense and fragrance. Other victims were numerous, and the fifth ode of the Chou period describes all engaged in the service as greatly exhausted with what they had to do, flaying the carcass, boiling the flesh, roasting it, broiling

it, arranging it on trays and stands, and setting it forth. Ladies from the palace are present to give their assistance; music peals; and the cup goes round.

"On the next day after repetition of the ceremonies of the sacrifice, those personators of the dead were specially feasted, and 'their happiness and dignity were made complete.' When the sacrifice of the ancestors was finished, the king feasted his uncles and younger brothers or cousins, that is, all the princes and nobles of the same surname with himself, in another apartment. The musicians who had discoursed with instrument and voice during the worship and entertainment of the ancestors, followed the convivial party 'to give their soothing aid at the second blessing.' The viands that had been provided, we have seen, in great abundance, were brought in from the temple and set forth anew. The guests ate and drank to the full, and at the conclusion they all did obeisance, while one of them declared the satisfaction of the spirits, and assured the king of their favor to him and his posterity, so long as they did not neglect those observances. During the feast the king showed particular respect to those among his relatives who were aged; filled their cups again and again, and desired 'that their old age might be blessed and their happiness ever increased.'

"This sketch of the seasonal sacrifices of the ancestors shows that they were intimately related to the duty of filial piety, and were designed mainly to maintain the unity of the family connection. There was implied in them a belief in the continued existence of the spirits of the departed; and by means of them, the ancestors of the kings were raised to the position of tutelary spirits of the dynasty; and the ancestors of each family became its tutelary spirits.

"Confucius gives the following account of the purposes which the ceremonies of the ancestral temple were intended to serve, hardly adverting to their religious significance. 'By means of them they distinguished the royal kindred according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the apportioning of duties to them, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus *something was given to the lowest to do*. At the feasts, places were given according to the hair, and thus was marked the distinction of years." [Notes 1 and 2.]

There is preserved in the Odes a fine example of an ancestral prayer.

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1. Op., cit.

2. See the Doctrine of the Mean, XIX, 4.

中庸 十九章

第四節 宗廟之禮.所以序昭穆也.序爵.所以辨貴賤也.序事.所以辨賢也。旅酬.下爲上.所以逮賤也.燕毛.所以序齒也.

Young King Chen prays in the temple of his father:

1. Alas for me, who am a little child,
   On whom has devolved the unsettled state!
   Solitary am I and full of distress.
   "Oh! my great Father,
   All thy life long, thou wast filial.

2. Thou didst think of my great *grandfather*,
   (Seeing him as it were) ascending and descending in the court.
   I, the little child,
   Day and night will be as reverent.

3. Oh! ye great kings,
   As your successor, I will strive not to forget you.
   [Note 1.]

   I take counsel at the beginning of my rule,
   How I can follow the example of my shrined father.
   Ah! far reaching were his plans,
   And I am not yet able to carry them out.
   However I endeavor to reach to them,
   My continuation of them will still be all-deflected.
   I am but as a little child,
   Unequal to the many difficulties of State.
   In his room (I look for him) to go up and come down in the court,
   To ascend and descend in the house.
   Admirable art thou, O great Father,
   Condescend to preserve and enlighten me.
   [Note 2.]

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1. Odes, IV, I, iii, I.

   詩經 卷八 閔予小子

   閔予小子.遭家不造.嬛嬛在疚.於乎皇考.永世克孝.
   ○念茲皇祖.陟降庭止.維予小子.夙夜敬止.○於乎皇王.纘序思不忘.

2. Op., cit. Ode, II.

   詩經 卷八 訪落

   訪予落止.率時昭考.於乎悠哉.朕未有艾.將予就之.
   繼猶判渙.維予小子.未堪家多難.紹庭上下.陟降厥家.
   休矣皇考.以保明其身.

Let me be reverent, let me be reverent,
(In attending to my duties);
(The way of) Heaven is evident,
And its appointment is not easily preserved.
Let me not say that it (Heaven) is high aloft above me,
It ascends and descends about our doings;
It daily inspects us wherever we are.
I am but as a little child,
Without intelligence to be reverently (attentive to my duties);
But by daily progress and monthly advance,
I will learn to hold fast the gleams of
Knowledge, till I arrive at bright intelligence.
Assist me to bear the burden of my position,
And show me how to display a virtuous conduct.
[Note 1.]

Two of the most honored names in Chinese history belong to the founders of the Chou dynasty, on the 12th century B. C., King Wen and his son King Wu. They were among the ideal rulers. The following ode is associated with the offerings of this son to his father.

1. They come full of harmony;
They come here, in all gravity;—
The princes assisting,
While the Son of Heaven looks profound.

2. While I present this noble bull,
They assist me in setting forth the sacrifice, (*offering*)
O great and august Father,
Comfort me, your filial son!

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1. Op., cit., Ode, III.

又 卷八 敬之

敬之敬之。天維顯思。命不易哉。無曰高高在上。陟降厥士。日監在茲。○維予小子。不聰敬止。日就月將。學有緝熙于光明。佛時仔肩。示我顯德行。

3. With penetrating wisdom thou didst play the man,
A sovereign with the gifts both of peace and war,
Giving rest even to great Heaven,
And insuring prosperity to thy descendants.

4. Thou comfortest me with the eyebrows of longevity;
Thou makest me great with manifold blessings,
I offer this sacrifice to my meritorious father,
And *to my accomplished mother.* [Note 1.]

In all this literature picturing the worship of ancestors, it is evident that they were thought of as still associated with the same interests and the same people with whom they were closely related on earth.

Hou-chi, the distant ancestor of the royal Chou family, who, during his life, was Minister of Agriculture under the model emperors Yao and Shun, is quite naturally worshipped by later generations as the Father of Husbandry. That is, he continues his old functions.

O accomplished Hou-chi,
Thou didst prove thyself the correlate of Heaven;
Thou didst give grain food to our multitudes;—
The immense gift of thy goodness.
Thou didst confer on us the wheat and the barley,

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1. Odes, IV, I, II, XII

詩經 卷八 雝

有來雝雝.至止肅肅.相維辟公.天子穆穆.
○於薦廣牡.相予肆祀.假哉皇考.綏予孝子.
○宣哲維人.文武維后.燕及皇天.克昌厥後.
○綏我眉壽.介以繁祉.既右烈考.亦右文母.

In a note on the above Prof. Legge says, "In sacrifices to the ancestors, the tablets of their wives were placed in their shrines so that both shared the honors of the service."

Which Ti (god) appointed for the nourishment of all;
And without distinction of territory or boundary,
The rules of social duty were diffused throughout these great regions. [Note 1.]

In this and the following ode we see how those who co-operate with Heaven in rendering great services among men are later worshipped as co-operating with Heaven in the celesial world.

Heaven made the lofty hill,
And King Tai brought it under cultivation.
He made the commencement with it,
And King Wen tranquilly carried on the work,
Till that rugged mount Chi
Had level roads leading to it.
May their descendants ever preserve it! [Note 2.]

This same King Wen, with his illustrious father and great-grandfather are prayed to as having the especial charge of watching over their son and successor on the throne. [Note 3.]

But the ancestors share the moral attitude of Heaven in demanding orderly conduct of their

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1. Odes, IV, I, X.

詩經 卷八 思文
思文后稷.克配彼天.立我烝民.莫匪爾極.貽我來牟.帝命率育.無此疆爾界.陳常于時夏.

2. Odes, IV, I, V.

詩經 卷八 天作
天作高山.大王荒之.彼作矣.文王康之.彼岨矣岐.有夷之行.子孫保之.

3. History, V, VI, I.

posterity as a consideration of their favor. When certain noble families were resisting the benevolent purposes of King Pan-keng, he exhorts them, saying: "Your conduct is injurious. Your ancestors and fathers will cut you off and abandon you." [Note 1.]

Every family was expected to worship its own ancestors as the emperor worshipped his, because in each case the ancestors had been the source through which life was passed on from generation to generation. Also, the great emphasis on the family as the social unit would naturally tend to increase the respects paid to the departed father and mother. Apparently no one was expected to refrain from making offerings to his parents because of their practical weaknesses or moral failures. Regardless of what they were, he still owed to them his life; and the foundation of his own morality lay in his treating them as a son should. A son would rarely be expected to recognize any defect on the part of his parent, although there is at least one occasion where a son is urged to make up for the short-comings of his father.

In the worship of spirits beyond the range of immediate ancestors it is clear that the chief honors were paid to those who had performed

1. History, IV, VII, II, 12.
尚書 盤庚中
汝有戕則在乃心. 乃祖乃父乃斷棄汝.

great service in establishing the family line or in some special service to the state.

C. The Spirits in Nature.

Besides paying respects to ancestors and heroes, the emperor worshipped Heaven and Earth ; the princes of states worshipped the "Spirits of the land and of grain," and at the "altars of the hills and streams;" the common people performed "the sacrifices of the house." But the whole list of special beings demanding attention from any one person or family does not appear to have been large.

There were "Spirits of the road," "Spirits of battle," and a few others to be worshipped on special occasions, but no great catalogue like that of the Greek pantheon, the Catholic saints or the Hindu gods.

All of the spirits joined in the moral demands of Heaven and humanity. "Heaven has no partial affection ;—only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant (as) to those whom they cherish ;—they cherish only him who is benevolent. The *spirits* do not always accept the sacrifices which are offered to them. *They accept* only the *sacrifices of the sincere.*" [Note 1.]

1. History, IV, V, iii, 1.

尙書 太甲下

惟天無親.克敬惟親.民罔常懷.懷于有仁.鬼神無常享.享于克誠.

D. The Cosmic Forces.

The way in which all the forces of nature are bound up with human conduct is indicated in the words of I-Yin, "The former Kings of Hsia *cultivated earnestly their virtue*, and *then there were no calamities from Heaven.* The *spirits* of the *hills and rivers* likewise were in *tranquillity;* and the *birds* and *beasts*, the fishes and tortoises all *enjoyed their existence* according to their nature." [Note 1.] A similar conviction is expressed above where the services of King Wen are spoken of as "giving rest even to great heaven, and insuring prosperity to his descendants." [Note 2.]

Where could we find a more striking faith in the cosmic significance of human conduct? The peace of the universe depends upon men. Harmony or conflict in the human social order react upon nature herself. The whole animal world is affected by the character of a benevolent ruler. Other expressions indicate that disorder in the heavens is supposed to follow the bad government of men. [Note 3.]

1. History, IV, IV, 2.
尚書 伊訓
二. 古有夏先后.方懋厥德.罔有天災.山川鬼神.亦莫不寧.暨鳥獸魚鼈咸若.

2. Odes, IV, I, II, VII, 3.
詩經卷八(雝)
宣哲維人.文武維后.燕及皇天.克昌厥後.

3. Ef. below pp. 100 MS.

The moral demands of Heaven are again illustrated under the figure of fragrant offerings. The last ruler of the Yin dynasty "wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven. The rank odour of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herd of creatures (satellites of the tyrant), went loudly up on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin, and showed no love for it,—because of such excesses. There is no cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt (and its punishment)." [Note 1.]

"Perfect government has a piercing fragrance and influences the spiritual intelligences. It is not the (sacrificial) millet which has piercing fragrance. It is bright virtue." [Note 2.]

With reference to this interpretation of nature, Professor Legge quotes the comments of the Chinese editors of the Chien-lung period, about 1860 A.D. [Note 3.] "All the principles under the sky are simply expressive of the mind of one

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1. History, V, X, 11.

尙書 酒誥

弗惟德馨香祀.登聞于天.誕惟民怨.庶群自酒.腥聞在上.故天降喪于殷.罔愛于殷.惟逸.天非虐.惟民自速辜.

2. History, V, XXI, 3.

尙書 (君陳)

三. 至治馨香.感于神明.黍稷非馨.明德惟馨.

3. Sacred Books of the East, Note on Book of Rites, VII, III, 7.

Heaven. Heaven is everywhere, and its distributions from which we see its ordinations are everywhere. Earth obediently receives the influences of Heaven. Consequently when we see how earth supports all things, we know how the ordination of Heaven has descended on it. Heaven is the author of all things. It produced men, and men go on to produce one another in succession. From this we see that every man has ancestors, and know how the ordination of Heaven has descended on the ancestral temple.

"Hills and streams are also the productions of Heaven, but every one of them is also able to produce other things; and when we see their productiveness we know that the ordination of Heaven is to that extent descended on them. The productive power of Heaven is distributed in the five elements (water, fire, wood, metal, soil), and their results which are important to men, are exhibited in the five sacrifices of the house, so that we see the results in these and know that the ordination of Heaven has descended on them.

"Now the ancestral temples, the hills and streams, and these five altars of the house are distributed on the earth, but in reality have their root in Heaven. And so it is that the sages, after the pattern of Heaven, made their ordinations; and their filial piety and righteousness and all the duties enjoined by them effective,

though unseen, secure the issues of government." [Note 1.]

This latter comment, although it is quite modern, certainly reflects the view of nature that has been dominant in Chinese thought for thousands of years, and which is clearly expressed in the words of the ancient classics. "Man is the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth, and the visible embodiment of the five elements." [Note 2.]

E. Some Conclusions as to the Early Chinese Religion.

In interpreting this religious world-view it may be well to observe that it was not built up logically as a metaphysical unity, but that it grew up in the varied experiences of racial history.

There are natural powers which at times seem to be personified and worshipped as independent spirits. On further study the independence vanishes and these forces appear as entirely in harmony with natural law or Heaven's will. Nature is never cold and meaningless, but is always related to human interests.

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1. Op, cit.

2. Sacred Books of the East, The Book of Rules (Li Ki), IX.

禮記 卷四 禮運第九

人者.天地之心也 五行之端也.

The one thing which we can say most emphatically is that all the powers and the spirits of nature, of ancestors and of departed heroes were thought of as being in harmony with nature. *The possibility of a conflict in the celestial world is never suggested* in this early literature.

There is no devil or host of demons lurking to injure men or disturb the order of Heaven. Human beings are the only disorderly element in the universe, and their nature is made for orderly life.

Heaven and the celestial world are characterized by benevolence, dignity and order,—all that is worthy and honorable.

When human beings passed out of their usual sphere of life it was assumed that they became a part of the celestial world and were in harmony with Heaven, partaking of its interest and moral qualities.

Professor Legge recognizes that "there is no hell nor purgatory," but adds that "There is no hint of the fate of the bad after death." [Note 1.] The fact seems to be that when bad men died, no one but their own immediate families took any interest in their future.

While unworthy parents received the homage of their own children, it is quite evident that the really praise-worthy men were much more

1. History, Prolegomena, p. 196.

highly honored by their posterity and their subjects, and the unworthy were soon forgotten.

In all such worship there was an effort to assume virtues on the part of those to whom the offerings were made and the benevolent attitude of Heaven was attributed to all who had passed over into the celestial world. This is the only explanation of the problem which has perplexed Professor Legge as to the fate of the bad after death. It also suggests the solution of his other problem as to how ancient personages who had been oppressive rulers received offerings and prayers for benevolent treatment by later generations, and even how offerings were made at the same time to men who had been enemies in their natural life. [Note 1.]

We have tried to see the Chinese religion as it appeared to the ancients, especially those factors in it which were the basis of moral sentiments, but have given no attention to the details of divination by which the Chinese felt that they could learn the will of Heaven. That is a technical feature, having little relation to the moral sentiments.

The significant thing is that it was possible for the rulers and moralists of the times to appeal to ancestors, departed heroes, spirits of nature, and Heaven itself as joining in the demand for the

1. Sacred Books of the East, Notes, by Prof. Legge, on Major Odes, III, 4, and I, 7.

kind of life which they conceived as ideal; and that their appeal was strengthened by the conviction that the perpetuity of the ancestral line, the hope of posterity and the peace of the whole universe were bound up with the immediate personal conduct.

It is the purpose of our further study to learn more fully just what kind of moral sentiments there were in this ancient world, backed by such a profound religious appeal; and what kind of conduct was demanded.

We may observe that none of these ancients ever stood off and looked at this scheme as we have outlined it. As a whole it is the product of the *social mind*, not of an individual. But each felt its force in his own immediate circle; while sages were inspired by large visions of it and strove for concepts in which to express it and make it real to the people.

NOTE ON THE EARLY CHINESE RELIGION.

Among the 214 radicals the only ones which would ordinarily be thought of as belonging especially to religion, are the words to reveal, to divine, and ghost or demon. To these may be added the word for a sacrificial dish, which in the later language generally means beans, and the word tortoise which is associated with divination. These are the five radicals on which the Chinese religious vocabulary is built up.

These five radicals give their original meanings to a total of thirty words in the Odes, twenty-six of which appear under the radical to reveal.

There are a very few religious words built up on other radicals, but there are several of these thirty words which are not especially associated with religious activities and interests. Without assuming to be exact, we may speak of a religious vocabulary of about thirty words. But this is not at all a vocabulary of professional religion, for there was no professional religion in this early period. There were no priests and no idols in ancient China. A considerable portion of these thirty words have to do with the worship of ancestors. Several words are also the names of spiritual beings, special ceremonies, etc. I have investigated the use of the word translated demon, in the Odes, History, Analects of Confucius, Mencius and in the Spring and Autumn Annals: and I find no reason at all for thinking that it indicated an essentially evil spirit in any of this literature. It sometimes means a distant or strange spirit. The wild and distant territories are spoken of as "demon regions."

This word "demon" or spirit occurs only twice in the Odes and four times in the History. In all this early literature it appears as the radical of less than ten words, none of which have an essentially bad meaning. There is one reference in the Odes which Legge translates "the demon of drought exercises his oppression" [Note 1.] but this is the only expression of this kind and is too highly figurative to

1. Odes III, III, IV.

prove any well established notion of harmful spirits.

In contrast with this, the "demon radical" appears as the basis of some of the most respected family names in ancient China.

It has seemed necessary to add this extensive note as an answer to those who assume that China has always been a superstitious, devil-ridden country. We find absolutely no trace of devils who were bent on injuring men, in this early literature, hence we maintain the theory that all the spiritual beings belonged to the harmonious world-order and could be depended on as being helpfully related to all who met the moral requirements of the social order. A total "religious" vocabulary of approximately thirty words among three thousand, does not indicate extreme superstition. The whole world-order was religious, but this religion expressed itself mainly in the normal human activities and relationships of the family and the state.

III. The Recognition of Social Distinctions.

We have been studying the ancient Chinese world in which there was little differentiation in local product, hence little commerce. There were no rigid caste distinctions and practically no slaves. There was relatively little specialization of labor. There were no professional soldiers, priests, physicians, or lawyers.

A single, standardized type of culture was spreading over the whole Chinese world. There

was absolutely no rival civilization anywhere on the horizon. For ages the pattern of the primary groups had been extended into an ever widening social organization. Intercourse was all on a basis of fixed personal relationships.

As a result of this homegeneity and the extension of the immediate, concrete, personal relationships, we have seen how the sense of of solidarity dominated all of this early Chinese thought. *Their world was a unity;* with one race, one type of culture and, to a large degree, one language. Family solidarity was typified by one father and one ancestral line; racial solidarity by one ruler and dynastic line. Cosmic solidarity related men and their ancestors, animals and natural forces, all in one harmonious universe.

Dualistic theories may appear in later Taoism. The twenty five centuries of subsequent history have witnessed a great increase in the complexity of Chinese society, but in this early time life was on a simpler basis.

Simplicity, however, does not at all imply individual equality, or lack of social distinction.

In simple social orders men take their situations as they find them. The natural distinctions of age, sex and family relationships are taken very seriously, as a part of nature's plan.

Only a long line of abstract thinking has led to the notion that all men are created free and

equal, and have the same claims upon us regardless of situation of personal relationships. Such a notion never appeared in ancient China. Reflection on the social situation was indeed highly developed, but it was all directed to the support of the social situation as they found it. This included a great community in which each member had a relatively fixed place, with fixed relations to others, either above or below him.

We now approach some of the most significant questions for the understanding of Chinese social order. What were the fixed relationships of Chinese society? What distinctions were recognized as to personal functions, honors and responsibilities? And what were the *bases* of social distinction?

The answer to these questions leads us back again to the focal centre of Chinese society, *the family*.

A. *Distinctions Recognized within the Family.*

The very existence of the family as a biological necessity rests upon the fundamental distinctions between man and woman, parent and child. The family as a *social institution* involves the recognition of still other distinctions, such as age, experience, wisdom, care, protection and affection on the part of the parent; immaturity, dependence and obedience on the part of the child.

1. *Age.*

In every fixed group, custom and habit tend to maintain the status quo. The younger members, being dependent and in subjection to their elders while immature, must continue to recognize the superior status of their elders even after their capacities are fully developed. Even in our own western life, with all its individualistic theories, it is difficult for the son in a settled community to escape the dominance of the older members of his family except by leaving the community. In Chinese theory a son never becomes "of age" in relation to his parents. He is always to a certain degree in subjection to them.

The parents seldom make harsh demands of their children, but the parental wishes must always receive due respect from the children.

In fixed communities also, age is generally associated with *wisdom*. The older members have had a longer practical experience of life. They know the folkways and how to deal with all practical and social situations. There are no colleges in which the sons can be educated beyond their parents. Experience is the great teacher. This superior experience and wisdom combined with custom and habit give the older members a position of great superiority.

This regard for age applies not only to the parents but also to older brothers and sisters, to

uncles and aunts, and to older members of the community outside the immediate family.

2. *Parenthood.*

Chinese thought has always given much attention to the propagation of the species. The mystery and privilege of life has been passed on to each individual by a particular line of ancestors. The father and mother stand as the immediate representative of that biological process. We have seen above, on page 74, how a son repeats the words:

> Alas! alas! my parents
> With what toil and suffering ye gave me birth.

In the Book of Filial Piety we find the words, "A son receives his life from his parents; what greater gift could possibly be given?" [Note 1.]

In Chinese thought, this obligation to those who have transmitted to us the stream of life is the basis of all duty. The child has a debt to his parents and his ancestors which demands not only his respect to his progenitors both living and dead, but also that he transmit that life to other generations who shall perpetuate the family line from age to age. This debt to those who have given us life is augmented by the fact that it is our parents also who care for us.

1. Filial Piety, Chapter 9.
孝經 聖治章第九
父母生之.續莫大焉.

Oh, my father who begat me!
Oh, my mother who nourished me!
Ye indulged me, ye fed me,
Ye held me up, ye supported me,
Ye looked after me, ye never left me,
Out and in ye bore me in your arms.
If I would return your kindness,
It is like Heaven, illimitable.

[Note 1.]

The Book of Filial Piety which is attributed to Confucius elaborates this filial duty as the basis of all obligations to the ruler and to society. Doubtless what he expresses so explicitly was already implicitly in the moral sentiments of these earlier generations.

3. *Sex.*

The differences between man and woman have been recognized as a basis of distinction in function and social standing by all peoples of all ages. Where brute strength and agility are the chief considerations, as in hunting and warfare, the women are inevitably considered inferior.

In ancient China brute force was never highly regarded as compared with social and moral qualities. Doubtless this had some effect in elevating the status of women.

The chief considerations, however, in fixing the status of women in ancient China are to be found in the patriarchal standards and in the higher regard for parenthood and family relationships.

1. See above, p. 75.

Patriarchal organization, with the recognition of family status through the male line alone, and of polygyny as a legitimate means of propagating the family ; these standards of patriarchal society all tend to give the women a position inferior to men.

But the higher regard for parenthood and for the immediate family relationships, as well as the general standard of sex morality, orderly conduct and self-control ; these factors all tended toward at least a decent treatment of the weaker sex in ancient China.

When we turn to the literature to learn the status of women we find that all mothers are honored, and motherhood is considered the chief function of women. An ode in which the princes offer the highest praise to their king concludes with the words :

> There is given you a heroic wife,
> There is given you a heroic wife,
> And from her shall come the line of descendants.
> [Note 1.]

There is a statement in the Book of Rules directing that "the eldest son and his wife shall wait upon the widowed mother at her meals."
[Note 2.]

This is typical of the way the mother shares the high honors of parenthood on a practical equality with the father. We have seen (note

1. Odes, III, II, 3.
2. Sacred Books of the East, Li Ki, X,I,10.

on page 103) above that in the offerings to the ancestors the tablets on which were the names of the mothers were placed in the shrines, so that they shared the honors of the service, along with the fathers.

When we enquire into the status of girls and women aside from the position of motherhood, we must recognize that even in this early period the segregation of the sexes was developed to a considerable degree especially among the leading families. Another sentence from the Book of Rules indicates that "men should not speak of the inside nor women of the outside." [Note 1.] That is, matters within the home were the entire field of women's activity and matters outside the home belonged to the men.

This, however, is a statement of theory, probably from a later time, and if taken literally, it suggests an extreme degree of segregation which probably never existed in fact. It appears that the division of labor between the sexes among the common people was about the same as in the older rural districts of America and other western countries; but that among the ruling classes there was a much higher degree of segregation.

One of the Odes has been often pointed to as indicating the extreme contrast between the place of sons and daughters in the royal family. It is in honor of a king and describes a dream in

1. Sacred Books of the East, Li Ki, X I 12.

which the hope of great prosperity is suggested. We quote quite fully in order to give the setting.

6. On the rush-mat below, and that of the fine bamboos about it,
Here may he repose in slumber!
May he sleep and awake,
Saying 'Divine for me my dreams.
What dreams are lucky?
They have been of bears and grisly bears;
They have been of cobras and other serpents'.

7. The chief (diviner) will divine them,
The bears and grisly bears
Are auspicious intimations of sons.
The cobras and other serpents
Are the auspicious intimations of daughters.
(happy omens).

8. Sons shall be born to him:—
They will be put to sleep on couches;
They will be clothed in robes;
They will have sceptres to play with;
Their cry will be loud.
They will be resplendent hereafter with red knee-covers,
The future king, the princes of the land.

9. Daughters shall be born to him:—
They will be put to sleep on the ground;
They will be clothed with wrappers;
They will have tiles to play with.
It will be theirs neither to do good nor to do wrong.
Only about the spirits and the food will they have to think,
And to cause no sorrow to their parents. [Note 1.]

1. Odes, II, IV, V, 6, 7, 8, 9.

詩經 卷五 (斯干)

六章 下莞上簟.乃安斯寢.乃寢乃興.乃占我夢.吉夢維何.維熊維羆.維虺維蛇.

七章 大人占之.維熊維羆.男子之祥.維虺維蛇.女子之祥.

八章 乃生男子.載寢之牀.載衣之裳.載弄之璋.其泣喤喤.朱芾斯皇.室家君王.

九章 乃生女子.載寢之地.載衣之裼.載弄之瓦.無非無儀.唯酒食是議.無父母詒罹.

That sons shall sleep on couches, be clothed in robes, play with sceptres and become kings and princes; while daughters sleep on the ground, are clothed with wrappers, play with tiles, and can do no wrong nor good has appeared to western writers generally as an altogether unfair division of favors.

Professor Giles has pointed out that the contrast is not so bad as it appears, for the "tiles" are really dishes, suggesting the training of young girls, and woman's function in the home. To sleep on a mat on the ground was the common lot of almost the entire population at that time. And there is one word in the Ode above that shows that the daughters were not altogether despised. The word translated "auspicious" carries the full force of a *happy omen*, and indicates that a large family of daughters was considered an honor to a king.

But with all these explanations we must acknowledge that this ode presents the case for girls in the most unfavorable light to be found anywhere in the literature. Even in this ode itself the statement that daughters may do neither wrong nor good is immediately modified by suggesting that they have very definite functions and obligations in the home. The literature which will appear in our later study will show that in fact the moral qualities of girls and women were very highly appreciated.

We may here present two odes which give a different picture of the appreciation accorded to virtuous girls, and one suggesting the happy relation of husband and wife, awaiting until a later section for detailed presentation of these subjects.

1. The moat at the east gate
Is fit to steep hemp in.
That beautiful, virtuous lady
Can respond to you in songs.

2. The moat at the east gate
Is fit to steep the bochmeria in.
That beautiful, virtuous lady
Can respond to you in discourse.

3. The moat at the east gate.
Is fit to steep the rope rush in.
That beautiful, virtuous lady
Can respond to you in conversation. [Note 1.]

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2. How handsome is the retiring girl!
She presented to me a red tube.
Bright is the red tube:—
I delight in the beauty of the girl.

3. From the pasture land she gave me a shoot of white grass,
Truly elegant and rare.
It is not you, O grass, that are elegant:—
You are the gift of an elegant girl. [Note 2.]

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1. Odes, I, XII, IV.

詩經 卷三 (東門之池)
一 東門之池.可以漚麻.彼美淑姬.可與晤歌.
二 東門之池.可以漚紵.彼美淑姬.可與晤語.
三 東門之池.可以漚菅.彼美淑姬.可與晤言.

2. Odes, I, III, XVII, 2, 3.

詩經 卷二 (靜女)
二 靜女其孌.貽我彤管.彤管有煒.說懌女美.
三 自牧歸荑.洵美且異.匪女之爲美.美人之貽.

1. Says the wife, 'it is cock-crow!'
Says the husband, 'it is gray dawn!'
Rise, sir, and look at the night,—
If the morning star be not shining.
Bestir yourself and move about,
To shoot the wild ducks and geese.

2. When your arrows and line have found them,
I will dress them fitly for you.
When they are dressed we will together eat of them,
And I will hope to grow old with you.
Your lute in your hands
Will emit its quiet, pleasant tones.

3. When I know those whose acquaintance you wish
I will give them ornaments of my girdle.
When I know those with whom you are cordial,
I will send to them the ornaments of my girdle.
When I know those whom you love
I will repay their friendship from the ornaments of my girdle. [Note 1.]

In his note on this ode Professor Legge says, "While the wife was so fond of her husband she did not wish to monopolize him; and she here indicates her sympathy with him in cultivating the friendship—we must suppose—of men of worth like himself, his friends." [Note 2.]

1. Odes, I, VII, VIII.

詩經 卷三 女曰雞鳴

一 女曰雞鳴.士曰昧旦.子興視夜.明星有爛.將翱將翔.弋鳧與鴈.

二 弋言加之.與子宜之.宜言飲酒.與子偕老.琴瑟在御.莫不靜好

三 知子之來之.雜佩以贈之.知子之順之.雜佩以問之.知子之好之.雜佩以報之.

2. Op.cit., see note.

We have seen how age, parenthood and sex are most significant as bases of distinction within the family, and that the recognition of these distinctions and the special relationships which they involve was of first importance in determining the moral quality of any act. The same tendencies were operating in the wider social relationships.

B. *Distinctions between Families.*

The factors which tended to give one prestige outside of the family, or to give one family prestige among other families, were of the same general character as those which we have seen operating within the family.

Age and permanence of relationship were highly valued. Pan-kang in the fourteenth century B.C. says "Of old, our former kings had it as a principal object in their plans to employ the men of old families to share in the government." He also quotes a saying: "in men we seek those of old families; in vessels we do not seek old ones but new," and continues in his own words, "do not despise the old and experienced." [Note 1.]

1. History, IV, VII, i, 7, 13, 15.

尙書 盤庚上

十三節 人惟求舊.器非求舊.惟新.

十五節 汝無侮老成人.

It is said of the tyrant Chou-hsin, he "does despite to the venerable and aged, the men who have long been in office." [Note 2.]

It is difficult for us to apppreciate the honor which comes to be associated with the marks of age in a society of this kind. In one of the odes of the Shang dynasty the worshippers express their confidence in the favor of the royal ancestor, saying,

> "He will bless us with the *eye-brows of longevity*
> With the *gray hair and wrinkled face* in unlimited degree."

The same prestige which belonged to the old man belonged also to the old family. By the time of Confucius these old families, with their pedigrees, had become as Professor Parker says a "great nuisance." They had multiplied until there was not room for each to have the territory and the honor which it desired.

This is one of the chief causes of the age of conflict which darkens the later centuries of the Chou dynasty. But the princely families had been recognized, and had had control of the land

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1. History, IV, XI, 5.

尙書 微子
乃罔畏畏.咈其耆長.舊有位人.

2. Odes, IV, III, II.

詩經 卷八 (烈祖)
綏我眉壽.黃耆無疆.

for so many centuries that it required many more centuries to break the power of their sway.

C. *Personal Character as a Basis of Distinction.*

Personal wisdom and personal achievements of the kind which are immediately serviceable to the community are always recognized as a basis of special distinctions. The man who was a master in dealing with their own social problems was sure to be appreciated in this ancient society. The one who was "greatly virtuous" [Note 1.] was most highly honored. This virtue doubtless included a large measure of executive ability, "the power to bring things to pass," in their own social order. But the personal qualities which are most highly praised in this early literature are just those moral qualities which showed themselves in the family and in the rulers' treatment of the people. "The sincerely intelligent among men becomes the great sovereign," [Note 2.] who should be a pattern of domestic virtue to all the subjects. When Shun was recommended for appointment by the model emperor, Yao, in the 23rd century B.C., as we are told by later writers, it was his reputation for filial piety that gave him his chief distinction. "He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately un-

1. Compare the Doctrine of the Mean, XVII, 5.

2. See page 79.

principled; his stepmother was insincere; his half brother was arrogant; he has been able, however, by his filial piety to live in harmony with them and to lead them gradually to self government, so that they no longer proceed to great wickedness." [Note 1.]

This was the great recommendation of Shun which led to his appointment and to his later seat on the throne. It is virtue of this kind, and freedom from lust for wealth, wine and women, which is chiefly praised in all the literature, as fitting a man for the highest positions.

D. *The Appointment of Heaven.*

The man who has these virtues, may receive the appointment of Heaven as ruler of the whole empire. And this appointment of Heaven gives him an entirely new distinction. He is called the "Son of Heaven," the "Correlate of Heaven." It is said, "truly Heaven dealt with him as a son."

As a matter of fact moral qualities were by no means the only consideration in the appointment of a ruler. All of the natural distinctions which we have enumerated above were at work in giving the ruler and the princely families their sway over the people. In practice the throne

1. History, 1, 12.
書尙 (堯典)
瞽子.父頑.母嚚.象傲.克諧以孝.烝烝乂.不格姦.

generally passed from father to son as in other monarchies. But here in ancient China it was the theory that the family had received the divine appointment, because of family distinction in virtue. And where the family virtue ran thin in the blood of degenerate rulers, Heaven rejected the dynasty and made a new appointment. When the emperor sanctioned the sway of petty princes all over the empire, they also had their authority from Heaven This again added to the prestige which the princely families had with the common people.

E. *Lesser Distinctions.*

In this connection we need only to mention again that the priestly and military castes which have had so large a place in other lands were absolutely unknown in China ; that there were a few occasions when the military abilities of the national leaders were highly praised, but in general it was the virtues of peace and order which appealed to the Chinese sentiments.

The possession of wealth is never recognized in the literature as a basis of social distinctions ; and there are many cases where the desire for wealth is condemned. In enumerating the virtues of a king it is said, "he did not seek to accumulate property and wealth." [Note 1.]

Note 1. History, IV, II. 5.
尙書仲虺之誥
不殖貨利

Great disgust is expressed with the idle rich in the Odes. [Note 1.]

"Oh that superior man. He would not eat the bread of idleness."

In the Book of History one whole chapter is directed against luxurious ease. "The duke of Chou said: 'Oh! The superior man rests in this,—that he will indulge in no luxurious ease. He first understands how the painful toil of sowing and reaping conducts to ease, and thus he understands how the lower people depend on this toil for their support. . . . . The kings that arose after these, from their birth, enjoyed ease. Enjoying ease from their birth they did not know the painful toil of sowing and reaping, and had not heard of the hard labors of the lower people. They sought for nothing but excessive pleasure: so not one of them had long life.'" [Note 2.]

The reigns of these kings who ruled as hot house plants for "ten years, for seven or eight, for five or six, or perhaps for only three or four,"

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1. See Odes, I, IX. 6.

詩經 卷三 伐檀

彼君子兮不素餐兮

2. History, V, XV, 1, 7.

尙書 無逸

一。 嗚呼.君子所其無逸.

二。 先知稼穡之艱難.乃逸.則知小人之依.

七。 自時厥後立王.生則逸.生則逸.不知稼穡之艱難.不聞小人之勞.惟耽樂之從.自時厥後.亦罔或克壽.或十年.或七八年.或五六年.或四三年.

[Note 1] is contrasted with the reign of the rugged kings who were acquainted with a life of toil and who ruled for sixty or seventy-five years.

These expressions and the whole emphasis of the early literature are against luxury and the materialistic desire for *things*. The desire for wealth was certainly not a virtue, according to the standards of this literature. But we can hardly close our eyes to the fact that all of the land was supposed to belong to the ruler, [Note 2.] that he assigned it to the princely houses and through them to the farmers. Thus the ruling families were in reality, to a considerable degree, a landlord aristocracy. Having control of the land they were relatively wealthy, the tendency to luxurious living among the princely families developed gradually during the Chou dynasty till it became a real curse.

But this wealth was associated with families rather than individuals. It was acquired through the patriarchal organization rather than through commercial activity, and the attention of both the ruling families and the common people was directed to the social rather than the material factors.

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1. Op. Cit.

2. Under the wide heaven, all is the king's land. Odes, II VI. I 2.

Numerous other references substantiate this view. See Hirth, Ancient History of China, p. 297. Also Legge, Prolegomena to the Book of History, p. 197?

Hence we conclude that the possession of wealth was not consciously recognized as the basis of distinction in the Chinese social life, but unconsciously it was a factor in the whole situation.

F. *The Pattern of the Chinese Moral Order.*

In addition to what has already been said of the sense of the solidarity and the recognized distinctions, we need only to add here that the whole duty of man was summed up then, as it is now, under the classification of the Five Relationships: [Note] between ruler and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, friend and friend. Under this scheme everyone found himself in a particular situation with personal obligations in which his morality was to display itself. Three of these obligations were within the family, one was to the ruler, one to friends.

In the whole literature abstract virtues receive little consideration. It is always some immediate personal situation which appeals to the Chinese conscience and is the basis of moral sentiment.

A person was moral in so far as he helped to keep this whole scheme of things going smoothly. He must fill his own *particular station* in the social order with due loyalty and respect to all those with whom he had personal relations.

Note.—The Five Relationships are mentioned five times in the Book of History. They are fully expressed by Confucius, Doctrine of the Mean XX. 8.

PART III.

MORAL SENTIMENTS RELATING TO PARTICULAR STATIONS IN LIFE.

I. In the Kinship Group.

One of the early kings of the Chou dynasty, in giving his instructions to a prince, speaks of those who commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practising villainy and treachery, and who kill men or violently assault them to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death :— these are abhorred by all.

"Such great criminals are greatly abhorred, and how much more detestable are the unfilial and unbrotherly—(such) as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father's heart, and the father who can no longer love his son but hates him ; as the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, and the elder brother who does not think of the toil of the parents in bringing up the children, and is very unfriendly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat parties who are guilty of such wickedness as offenders, the laws of our nature, given by Heaven to our people, will be thrown into great disorder and destroyed. You must resolve to deal speedily with such accord-

ing to the penal laws of King Wen, punishing them severely and not pardoning." [Note 1.]

Here the "unfilial and unbrotherly" are classed as criminals more detestable than those who rob and plunder.

A. *Parents and Children.*

There is very little said in any of the Chinese literature of parents' duty to love and care for their children. It seems generally to be assumed that all parents will do this. But in the selection just quoted "the father who can no longer love his son, but hates him" is classed with the unfilial and unbrotherly as the worst of criminals.

Probably it is just because the relationships between parents and children are supposed to receive first consideration by every one that the duties between parents and children are nowhere treated in this early literature. The filial relations appear incidentally throughout all the literature as the fundamental demand of nature.

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1. History, V, IX, 15, 16.

尙書 康誥

十五 凡民自得罪.寇攘姦宄.殺越人于貨.暬不畏死.罔弗憝.

十六 王曰.封.元惡大憝.矧爲不孝不友.子弗祇服厥父事.大傷厥考心.于父不能字厥子.乃疾厥子.于弟弗念天顯.乃弗克恭厥兄.兄亦不念鞠子哀.大不有于弟.惟弔茲.不于我政人得罪.天惟與我民彝大泯亂.曰.乃其速由文王作罰.刑茲無赦.

B. *Brothers and Sisters.*

1. The flowers of the cherry tree
Are they not gorgeously displayed?
Of all the men in the world
There are none equal to brothers.

(The five intervening stanzas offer continuous praise of Brothers.)

7. Loving union with wife and children
Is like the music of lutes;
But it is the accord of brothers,
Which makes the harmony and happiness lasting.
[Note 1.]

1. Well fashioned is the bow adorned with horn,
Swift is its recoil.
Brothers and relatives by affinity (*i.e.* by marriage)
Should not be treated distantly.

3. Those brothers who are good
Continue to show a generous feeling;
But between brothers who are not good,
Their intercourse is marked by troubles.

4. People (like those brothers) who have no conscience
Repine against each other, each one holding his own point of view;
One gets a place and shows no humility:—
Till they all come to ruin. [Note 2.]

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1. Odes, II, I, IV, 1, 7.

詩經 卷四 常棣

一 常棣之華.鄂不韡韡.凡今之人.莫如兄弟.
七 妻子好合.如鼓瑟琴.兄弟既翕.和樂且湛.

2. Odes, II, VII, IX, 1, 3, 4.

詩經 卷五 角弓

一 騂騂角弓.翩其反矣.兄弟昏姻.無胥遠矣.
三 此令兄弟.綽綽有裕.不令兄弟.交相爲瘉.
四 民之無胥.相怨一方.受爵不讓.至于已斯亡.

The place of sisters in the family is little discussed in the Odes. We may here include a single ode indicating how a young bride becomes homesick and longs to return to her home and her own people, mentioning parents, brothers, sisters and aunts. But she questions the propriety of such a return.

1. How the water bubbles up from the spring,
And flows away to the Chi!
My heart is in Wei,
There is not a day I do not think of it.
Admirable are those my cousins;
I will take council with them.

2. When I came forth I lodged in Tsi,
We drank the cup of the convoy at Ni.
When a young lady goes (to be married)
She leaves her parents and brothers;
But I would ask for my aunts,
And then for my elder sister.

3. I will go forth and lodge in Kan,
And will drink the cup of the convoy at Yen.
I will grease the axle and find the pin,
And the returning chariot will proceed.
Quickly shall we arrive in Wei:—
Would not this be wrong? [Note 1.]

Probably the most striking and best known story of a brother's devotion is that of the duke

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1. Odes, I, III, XIV, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷二 泉水

一 毖彼泉水.亦流于淇.有懷于衛.靡日不思.孌彼諸姬.聊與之謀.

二 出宿于泲.飲餞于禰.女子有行.遠兄弟父母.問我諸姑.遂及伯姊.

三 出宿于干.飲餞于言.載脂載舝.還車言邁.遄臻于衛.不瑕有害.

of Chou when he prays that he might die instead of his brother, and argues as the reason his own greater fitness to serve spiritual beings in the celestial world while his brother, the king, is more needed to rule the earthly kingdom.

Professor Legge condenses for us the story of this brother's devotion. King Wu is very ill and his death seems imminent. "His brother, the duke of Chou, apprehensive of the disasters which such an event would occasion to the infant dynasty, conceives the idea of dying in his stead, and prays to the three kings, their immediate progenitors, that he might be taken and Wu left. Having done so and divined that he was heard, he deposits the prayer in the metal bound coffer. The king gets well and the duke is also spared; but five years later Wu does die and is succeeded by his son, a boy only thirteen years old. Rumors are spread abroad that the duke has designs on the throne, and he withdraws from the Court. At length in the third year of the young king, Heaven interposes. He has occasion to open a coffer and the prayer of the duke is found. The duke's devotion to his brother and to the interests of his family is brought to light. The boy monarch weeps because of the unjust suspicions he had harbored, and welcomes the duke back to Court amid unmistakable demonstrations of the approval of Heaven.

"In Chinese history the name of the duke of Chou is second only to that of Confucius. He was a legislator and consolidator of the dynasty of Chou, equally mighty in words and deeds—a man of counsel and of action. Confucius regarded his memory with reverence; and (in his old age) spoke of it as a sign of his own failing powers, that the duke of Chou no longer appeared to him in his dreams." [Note 1.]

C. *Uncles and Cousins.*

The relationship to uncles and cousins is very highly regarded by the Chinese, in fact, near cousins are generally included under the general term "brothers."

The following ode speaks fondly of the relationship with a maternal cousin.

1. I escorted my mother's nephew
   To the north of the Wei.
   What did I present to him?
   Four bay horses for his carriage of state.

2. I escorted my mother's nephew
   Long, long did I think of him.
   What did I present to him?
   A precious jasper and gems for his girdle's pendent. [Note 2.]

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1. See History, V, VI. Note by James Legge.

2. Odes, I, XI, IX, 1, 2.

詩經 卷三 渭陽

一 我送舅氏.曰至渭陽.何以贈之.路車乘黃.

二 我送舅氏.悠悠我思.何以贈之.瓊瑰玉佩.

II. The Relations between the Sexes.

We have discussed above the status of women in the social organization,—the distinction in social standing between man as man, and woman as woman. The question now before us is of a somewhat different character. Having recognized that socially boys are placed in a different class from girls and men from women, that the weaker sex is kept in the background and in a somewhat inferior position in the social order; our question now has to do with the relationships between particular men and particular women. This is the question which appears in every society. How are the sex impulses controlled and refined? What are the sentiments about marriage? What degree of devotion and loyalty are expected between husband and wife? What are the standards of sex morality for men and what for women? What type of woman is praised by man? What type of man is praised by women?

In answering these questions also the most important consideration is to be found in the family ideals of ancient China.

All men and all women belonged to families where much was made of the family relationships. Parenthood is the greatest honor both to man and woman. Children are desired and their birth is a matter of great congratulation to both parents.

The procreative function is so highly regarded that it becomes a great factor in all considerations of sex relationships. The interests of the family are a dominant consideration in all thought of the mating process.

The general interest in orderliness and regularity of all human relationships, which characterizes the Chinese race, is also a factor in regulating the relations of the sexes.

We may well begin this part of our study with the union of sexes which is most highly regarded by the Chinese themselves, the monogamous marriage, and then proceed to a consideration of less desirable and improper unions.

A. *The Relations of Husband and Wife.*

One of the most pleasing pictures of happy domestic relations has appeared on page 126 above. The sentiments attaching to the marriage relation are freely expressed in the Odes; as this is one of the themes which is most frequently treated by the early poets. In the following a husband and wife expressed delight at the union which was better than they expected.

1. Round and round the firewood is bound ;
And the three stars appear in the sky.
This evening is what evening,
That I see this good man?
Oh, me ! Oh me !
That I should get a good man like this !

2. Round and round the grass is bound;
And the three stars are seen from the corner.
This evening is what evening,
That we have this unexpected meeting!
Happy pair! Happy pair!
That we should have this unexpected meeting!

3. Round and round the thorns are bound;
And the three stars are seen from the door.
This evening is what evening,
That I see this beauty?
Oh, me! Oh, me!
That I should see a beauty like this! [Note 1.]

The loyal devotion of a wife to her husband is possibly the most popular theme of all.

1. Yao-yao went the grass insects,
And the hoppers sprang about.
While I do not see my lord,
My sorrowful heart is agitated.
Let me have seen him,
Let me have met him,
And my heart will then be still. [Note 2.]

The second and third stanzas of this Ode reiterate the same sentiments. The following Odes treat the same theme.

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1. Odes, I, X, V, 1, 2, 3.

詩經　卷三 (綢繆)

一　綢繆束薪.三星在天 今夕何夕.見此良人.子兮子兮.
如此良人何.

二　綢繆束芻.三星在隅.今夕何夕.見此邂逅.子兮子兮.
如此邂逅何.

三　綢繆束楚.三星在戶.今夕何夕.見此粲者.子兮子兮.
如此粲者何.

2. Odes, I, II, III, 1.

詩經　卷一 (草蟲)

喓喓草蟲.趯趯阜螽.未見君子.憂心忡忡.亦既見止.
亦既覯止.我心則降.

1. Grandly rolls the thunder,
On the south of the southern hill!
How was it that he went away from this,
Not daring to take a little rest?
My noble lord!
May he return! May he return! [Note 1.]

(Second and third stanzas likewise.)

1. My husband is away on service,
And I know not when he will return.
Where is he now?
The fowls roost in their holes in the walls;
And in the evening of the day,
The goats and the cows came down from the hill;
But my husband is away on service.
How can I but keep thinking of him?

2. My husband is away on service,
Not for days (merely) or for months,
When will he come back to me?
The fowls rest on their perches;
And in the evening of the day,
The goats and the cows came down and home;
But my husband is away on service.
Oh, if he but be kept from hunger and thirst!
[Note 2.]

The joy when a husband returns is freely expressed.

1. My husband looks full of satisfaction.
In his left hand he holds his reed organ,

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1. Odes, I, II, VIII, 1.

詩經 卷一 (殷其雷)

殷其雷.在南山之陽.何斯違斯.莫敢或遑.振振君子.
歸哉歸哉.

2. Odes, I, VI, II, 1, 2.

詩經 卷二 (君子于役)

一 君子于役.不知其期.曷至哉.雞棲于塒.日之夕矣.牛羊下來.
君子于役.如之何勿思.

二 君子于役.不日不月.曷其有佸.雞棲于桀.日之夕矣.牛羊
下括.君子于役.苟無飢渴.

And with his right he calls me to the room.
Oh, the joy!

2. My husband looks delighted.
In his left hand he holds his screen of feathers,
And with his right he calls me to the stage.
Oh, the joy! [Note 1.]

1. My noble husband is how martial-like!
The hero of the country!
My husband grasping his halberd,
Is in the leading chariot of the king's host.

2. Since my husband went to the east,
My head was like the flying artemesia.
It is not that I could not anoint and wash it;
But for whom should I adorn myself?

.....

4. How shall I get the plant of forgetfulness?
I would plant it on the north of my house.
Lovingly I think of my husband,
And my heart is made to ache. [Note 2.]

1. The male pheasant flies away,
Lazily moving his wings.
The man of my heart!
He has brought on us this separation.

2. The pheasant has flown away,
But from below, from above comes his voice.
Ah! The princely man!
He afflicts my heart.

---

1. Odes, I, VI, III, 1, 2.

詩經 卷二 (君子陽陽)

一 君子陽陽.左執簧.右招我由房.其樂只且.
二 君子陶陶.左執翿.右招我由敖.其樂只且.

2. Odes, I, V, VIII, 1, 2, 4.

詩經 卷二 (伯兮)

一 伯兮朅兮.邦之桀兮.伯也執殳.爲王前驅.
二 自伯之東.首如飛蓬.豈無膏沐.誰適爲容.
四 焉得諼草.言樹之背.願言思伯.使我心痗.

3. Look at that sun and moon!
Long, long do I think,
The way is distant;
How can he come to me?

4. All ye princely men,
Know ye not his virtuous conduct?
He hates none; he covets nothing;
What does he which is not good? [Note 1.]

A widow protests against being urged by her parents to marry again.

1. It floats about, that boat of cypress wood,
There in the middle of the Ho.
With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead,
He was my mate;
And I swear that till death I will have no other.
Oh mother, oh Heaven,
Why will ye not understand me?

2. It floats about, that boat of cypress wood,
There by the side of the Ho.
With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead,
He was my only one;
And I swear that till death I will not do the evil thing.
Oh mother, oh Heaven,
Why will ye not understand me? [Note 2.]

---

1. Odes, I, III, VIII.

詩經 卷二 雄雉

一 雄雉于飛.泄泄其羽.我之懷矣.自詒伊阻.
二 雄雉于飛.下上其音.展矣君子.實勞我心.
三 瞻彼日月.悠悠我思.道之云遠.曷云能來.
四 百爾君子.不知德行.不忮不求.何用不臧.

2. Odes, I, IV, I, 1, 2.

詩經 卷二 柏舟

一 汎彼柏舟.在彼中河.髧彼兩髦.實維我儀.之死矢靡它.
母也天只.不諒人只.
二 汎彼柏舟.在彼河側.髧彼兩髦.實維我特.之死矢靡慝.
母也天只.不諒人只.

A widow thinks of the ornaments of the bridal chamber and expresses her loneliness.

3. How beautiful was the pillow of horn!
How splendid was the embroidered coverlet!
The man of my admiration is no more here:—
With whom can I dwell?—Alone I wait for the morning. [Note 1.]

There are some sad stories of rejected wives.

5. You cannot cherish me,
And you even count me as an enemy.
You disdain my virtues,
A pedlar's wares which do not sell.
Formerly I was afraid our means might be exhausted,
And I might come with you to destitution.
Now when your means are abundant
You compare me to poison.

6. My fine collection of vegetables
Is but a provision against the winter.
Feasting with your new wife,
You think of me as a provision against your poverty.
Cavalierly and angrily you treat me;
You give me only pain.
You do not think of the former days,
And are only angry with me. [Note 2.]

---

1. Odes, I, X, XI, 3.

詩經 卷三 (葛生)

三 角枕粲兮.錦衾爛兮.予美亡此.誰與獨旦.

2. Odes, I, III, X, 5, 6.

詩經 卷二 谷風

五 不我能慉.反以我爲讐.既阻我德.賈用不售.昔育恐育鞫.及爾顚覆.既生既育.比予于毒.

六 我有旨蓄.亦以御冬.宴爾新婚.以我御窮.有洸有潰.既詒我肄.不念昔者.伊余來墍.

A wife attributes the mistreatment of her husband to a mental disturbance.

1. Oh sun, oh moon,
Which enlighteneth this lower earth!
Here is this man
Who treats me not according to the ancient rule.
How can he get his mind settled?
Would he then not regard me?

(The fourth carries on the same theme).

4. Oh sun, oh moon.
From the east which cometh forth!
Oh father, oh mother,
There is no sequel to your nourishing me.
How can he get his mind settled?
Would he then respond to me contrary to all reason? [Note 1.]

The queen of King Yew complains of being degraded and forsaken.

1. The fibres from the white flowered rush
Are bound with the white grass.
This man's sending me away,
Makes me dwell solitary.

2. Delight in brilliant clouds
Bedew the rush and the grass.
The way of Heaven is hard and difficult.
This man does not conform (to good principles). [Note 2.]

---

1. Odes, I, III, IV, 1, 4.

詩經 卷二 (日月)

一 日居月諸.照臨下土.乃如之人兮.逝不古處.胡能有定.
寧不我顧.

四 日居月諸.東方自出.父兮母兮.畜我不卒.胡能有定.
報我不述.

2. Odes, II, VIII, V, 1, 2.

詩經 卷五 (白華)

一 白華菅兮.白茅束兮.之子之遠.俾我獨兮.

二 英英白雲.露彼菅茅.天步艱難.子之不猶.

This is a sad story of the rejected queen, but such things could not be done with impunity even by the king ; for we are told that to punish him, this queen's father formed an alliance with one of the wild Yung tribes, as a result of which King Yew was killed and the capital removed to another city.

After such a presentation of what marriage meant to the wife, we may turn our attention to some expressions of the husband's attitude.

1. Chien-Kuan went the axle ends of my carriage,
As I thought of the young beauty and went to fetch her.
It was not that I was hungry or thirsty,
But I longed for one of such virtuous fame to come and be with me.
Although no good friends be with us
We will rejoice and be glad.

2. Dense is the forest in the plain,
And there sit the long-tailed pheasants.
In her proper season that well-grown lady,
With her admirable virtue is come to instruct me.
We will feast and I will praise her.
'I love you and will never weary of you.'

3. Although I have no good spirits,
We will drink, and perhaps (be satisfied).
Although I have no good viands,
We will eat, and perhaps (be satisfied).
Although I have no virtue to impart to you,
We will sing and dance.

4. I ascend that lofty ridge,
And split the branches of the oaks for firewood.
I split the branches of oaks for firewood,
Amid the luxuriance of their leaves.
I see you whose match is seldom seen,
And my whole heart is satisfied.

5. The high hill is looked up to;
The great road is easy to be traveled on.
My four steeds advance without stopping;
The six reins made music in my hands like lute strings.
I see you my bride,
To the comfort of my heart. [Note 1.]

Most striking in the above is the line in which the young groom says the bride "is come to instruct me," and again, "I have no virtue to impart to you."

1. Beneath my door made of cross pieces of wood,
I can rest at my leisure;
By the wimpling stream from the fountain,
I can joy amid my hunger.

2. Why, in eating fish,
Must we have bream from the Ho?
Why in taking a wife,
Must we have a Chiang of Tsi?

3. Why, in eating fish,
Must we have carp from the Ho?

---

1. Odes, II, VII, IV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

詩經 卷五 (車舝)

一 閒關車之舝兮.思孌季女逝兮.匪飢匪渴.德音來括.雖無好友.式燕且喜.

二 依彼平林.有集維鷮.辰彼碩女.令德來教.式燕且譽.好爾無射.

三 雖無旨酒.式飲庶幾.雖無嘉殽.式食庶幾.雖無德與女.式歌且舞.

四 陟彼高岡.析其柞薪.析其柞薪.其葉湑兮.鮮我覯爾.我心寫兮.

五 高山仰止.景行行止.四牡騑騑.六轡如琴.覯爾新昏.以慰我心.

Why in taking a wife,
Must we have a Tsi of Sung? [Note 1.]

The speaker in the above implies that his own humble bride was quite as satisfactory as those of the famous families.

(In the tenth month)

5. Chinks are filled up, and rats are smoked out;
The windows that face [the north] are stopped up;
And the doors are plastered.
Ah! Our *wives and our children*,
Changing, the year requires this;
Enter here and dwell. [Note 2.]

Soldiers lament because unable to fulfil the marriage vow.

1. Hear the roll of our drums!
See how we leap about, using our weapons!
....

3. Here we stay; here we stop;
Here we lost our horses;
And we seek for them,
Among the trees of the forest.

4. For life or for death, however separated,
To our wives we pledged our word.
We held their hands:
We were to grow old together with them.

---

1. Odes, I, XII, III, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷三 衡門

一 衡門之下.可以棲遲.泌之洋洋.可以樂飢.
二 豈其食魚.必河之魴.豈其取妻.必齊之姜.
三 豈其食魚.必河之鯉.豈其取妻.必宋之子.

2. Odes, I, XV, I, 5.

詩經 卷三 (七月)

五 十月蟋蟀.入我牀下.穹窒熏鼠.塞向墐戶.嗟我婦子.
曰爲改歲.入此室處.

5. Alas for our separation!
We have no prospect of life.
Alas for our stipulation!
We cannot make it good. [Note 1.]

B. *The Ladies of the Princely Household.*

There are certain features of the marriage relation among noble families which require special treatment.

Kuei-fu, a princely father, is represented as making a great effort to find the best husband for his daughter.

4. The marquis of Han took himself a wife,
A niece of King Feu,
The daughter of Kuei-fu.
The marquis of Han went to receive her,
To the residence of Kuei.
His hundred chariots were in grand array.
The eight bells of each emitting their tinkling;
Illustrious was the glory of the occasion.
The virgins, her companions, followed the lady
Leisurely like a beautiful cloud.
The marquis of Han looked round at them
Filling the gate with their splendor.

5. Kuei-fu was very martial,
And there is no state which he had not visited.
When he would select a home for Han-chieh (his daughter),
There seemed none so pleasant as Han.
Very pleasant is the territory of Han,
With its large streams and meres,

---

1. Odes, I, III, VI, 1, 3, 4, 5.
詩經 卷二 (擊鼓)
一 擊鼓其鏜.踊躍用兵.
三 爰居爰處.爰喪其馬.于以求之.于林之下.
四 死生契闊.與子成說.執子之手.與子偕老.
五 于嗟闊兮.不我活兮.于嗟洵兮.不我信兮.

Full of big bream and tench;
With its multitudes of deer,
With its bears and grisly bears;
With its wild cats and tigers.
Glad was he of so admirable a situation,
And here Han-chieh found rest and joy. [Note 1.]

Referring to the virgins who followed the lady, Professor Legge explains that "the bride, was accompanied by a younger sister and a cousin;—virgins from the harem of her father. Then two houses of the same surname sent, each, a young lady, with a similar suite to accompany her: so that a feudal prince was said to marry nine ladies at once." [Note 2.]

The word "harem" which is here used by Professor Legge, is likely to be misleading to those who think of a harem as representing masculine lust and female slavery. In the note below, which Professor Legge adds at the conclusion of Part I, Book I, of the Odes, we see how well regulated all the relations between the prince and his ladies were supposed to be.

It is difficult for us to transport ourselves to the time and scenes of the pieces of this book. The Chinese see

1. Odes, III, III, VII, 4, 5.

詩經 卷七 (韓奕)

四 韓侯取妻.汾王之甥.蹶父之子.韓侯迎止.于蹶之里.
百兩彭彭.八鸞鏘鏘.不顯其光.諸娣從之.祁祁如雲.
韓侯顧之.爛其盈門.

五 蹶父孔武.靡國不到.爲韓詰相攸.莫如韓樂.孔樂韓土.
川澤訏訏.魴鱮甫甫.麀鹿噳噳.有熊有羆.有貓有虎.
慶既令居.韓姞燕譽.

2. See Note on Odes, III, III, VII, 4.

in them a model prince and his model wife, and the widely extended beneficial effects of their character and government. The institution of the harem is very prominent and there the wife appears lovely on her entry into it, reigning in it with entire devotion to her husband's happiness, free from all jealousy of the inferior inmates, in the most friendly spirit promoting their comfort, and setting them an example of frugality and industry. The people rejoice in the domestic happiness of their ruler, and in the number of his children, and would have these multiplied more and more. Among themselves, gravity of manners dignifies individuals of the meanest rank; and the rabbit trapper is fit to be his prince's friend, guide and shield. Purity is seen taking the place of licentiousness, both among men and women: and the wife is taught to prefer her husband's honor and loyalty to her own gratification in his society.

In another note on these Odes which is quoted from the imperial editor of the recent dynasty, it is said:

Here we see that there was no department of woman's work in which the princesses did not exert themselves. Well might they transform all below them. Anciently, the rules to be observed between husband and wife required the greatest circumspection. They did not speak directly to each other, but employed internuncios, thus showing how strictly reserved should be intercourse between men and women and preventing disrespectful familiarity. When the wife was about to be confined the husband took up his quarters in a side apartment, and sent to enquire about her twice a day. When the wife wished to visit her parents she intimated her purpose through the matron. Inside the door of the harem no liberty could be taken any more than with a reverend guest. Thus was the instruction of the people made to commence from the smallest matters with a wonderful depth of wisdom! [Note 1.]

After reading the above explanations by the greatest Chinese and foreign scholars it will be

1. Odes I, I, II, See note.

of especial interest to read an Ode which is supposed to refer to the marriage of the ideal king, Wen. Even this great king is represented as being so thoroughly aroused by the thought of the bride's virtues that his slumbers are disturbed just as we might expect of any fortunate young lover in the Occident.

1. Kuan-kuan go the ospreys (doves)
On the islet in the river.
The modest, retiring, virtuous young lady :—
For our prince a good mate is she.

2. Here long, there short, is the duck weed,
To the left, to the right, borne about by the current.
The modest, retiring, virtuous young lady :—
Waking and sleeping he sought her.
He sought and found her not,
And waking and sleeping he thought about her.
Long he thought : oh, long and seriously ;
On his side, on his back, he turned, and back again.

3. Here long, there short, is the duck weed ;
On the left, on the right, we gather it.
The modest, retiring, virtuous young lady,
With lutes small and large let us give her a friendly welcome.
Here long, there short, is the duck weed ;
On the left, on the right, we cook and present it.
The modest, retiring, virtuous young lady :—
With bells and drums let us show our delight in her. [Note 1.]

1. Odes, I, I, 1, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷一 (關雎)

一 關關雎鳩.在河之洲.窈窕淑女.君子好逑.
二 參差荇菜.左右流之.窈窕淑女.寤寐求之.
求之不得.寤寐思服.悠哉悠哉.輾轉反側.
三 參差荇菜.左右采之.窈窕淑女.琴瑟友之.
參差荇菜.左右芼之.窈窕淑女.鐘鼓樂之.

Another Ode tells of the virtues of the girls along the Han river under the moral influence of king Wen and his queen.

1. In the south rise the trees without branches
Affording no shelter.
By the Han are girls rambling about,
But it is vain to solicit them.
The breadth of the Han
Cannot be dived across,
The length of the Kiang (Yangtse)
Cannot be navigated with a raft.

(Likewise, these girls could not be misled).

2. Many are the bundles of firewood;
I would cut down the thorn (to form more bundles).
Those girls are going to their future home,—
I would feed their horses. [Note 1.]

(This is followed by several verses of similar enthusiasm over the virtues of these ladies.)

In the imagery of these verses, the cutting of thorns and feeding of horses suggest the services that would be gladly rendered to such ladies.

C. *The Charms of Young Women.*

1. In the south are the trees with curved, drooping branches,
With the dolichos creepers clinging to them.
To be rejoiced in is our princely lady;—
May she repose in her happiness and dignity.

---

1. Odes, I, I, IX, 1, 2.

詩經 卷一 (漢廣)

一 南有喬木.不可休息.漢有游女.不可求思.
漢之廣矣.不可泳思.江之永矣.不可方思.

二 翹翹錯薪.言刈其楚.之子于歸.言秣其馬.
漢之廣矣.不可泳思.江之永矣.不可方思.

2. In the south are the trees with curved, drooping branches,
Covered with dolichos creepers;
To be rejoiced in is our princely lady:—
May she be great in her happiness and dignity.

3. In the south are the trees with curved, drooping branches,
Round which the dolichos creepers twine;
To be rejoiced in is our princely lady:—
May she be complete in her happiness and dignity.
[Note 1.]

The peach blossom in China typifies a lady's beauty. In the following ode the lady is also prepared for her place in the home.

1. The peach tree is young and elegant;
Brilliant are its flowers,
This young lady is going to her future home,
And will order well her chamber and house.

2. The peach tree is young and elegant;
Abundant will be its fruit.
This young lady is going to her future home,
And will order well her house and chamber.

3. The peach tree is young and elegant;
Luxuriant are its leaves.
This young lady is going to her future home
And will order well her *family*. [Note 2.]

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1. Odes, I, I, IV, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷一 (樛木)

一 南有樛木.葛藟纍之.樂只君子.福履綏之.
二 南有樛木.葛藟荒之.樂只君子.福履將之.
三 南有樛木.葛藟縈之.樂只君子.福履成之.

2. Odes, I, I, VI, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷一 (桃夭)

一 桃之夭夭.灼灼其華.之子于歸.宜其室家.
二 桃之夭夭.有蕡其實.之子于歸.宜其家室.
三 桃之夭夭.其葉蓁蓁.之子于歸.宜其家人.

A young lover longs to reveal his love for a charming lady.

1. The moon comes forth in her brightness ;
How lovely is that beautiful lady !
Oh to have my deep longings for her revealed !
How anxious is my toiled heart !

2. The moon comes forth in her splendor ;
How attractive is that beautiful lady !
Oh to have my anxieties about her relieved !
How agitated is my toiled heart !

3. The moon comes forth and shines ;
How brilliant is that beautiful lady !
Oh how the chains of my mind relax !
How miserable is my toiled heart ! [Note 1.]

D. *Proper and Improper Conduct.*

A young lady is blamed for forgetting her own family and thinking only of marriage.

1. There is a rainbow in the east,
And no one dares to point to it.
When a girl goes away from her home,
She separates from her parents and brothers.

2. In the morning a rainbow arises in the west,
And during the morning is there rain.
When a girl goes away from her home
She separates from her brothers and parents.

3. This person
Has her heart only on being married.

---

1. Odes, I, XII, VIII, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷三 (月出)

一 月出皎兮.佼人僚兮.舒窈糾兮.勞心悄兮.

二 月出皓兮.佼人懰兮.舒窈夭兮.勞心慅兮.

三 月出照兮.佼人燎兮.舒天紹兮.勞心慘兮.

Greatly is she untrue to herself
And does not recognize the law of her lot.
[Note 1.]

The demands on a young lady in ancient China seem to have made her place especially difficult. She was trained up in one home for another to which she was to be suddenly transplanted. She was expected to be absolutely devoted to her own family until her marriage, and then to develop an equal devotion to her husband's family.

Proper forms must be observed in taking a wife.

1. In hewing an axe-handle how do you proceed?
Without another axe-handle it cannot be done.
In taking a wife how do we proceed?
Without a 'go-between' it cannot be done.

2. In hewing an axe-handle, in hewing an axe-handle,
The pattern is not far off.
I see the lady,
And forthwith the vessels are arranged in rows.
(For the wedding ceremony). [Note 2.]

1. High and large is the south hill,
And a male fox is on it, solitary and suspicious.
The way to Loo is easy and plain,

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1. Odes, I, IV, VII, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷二 (蝃蝀)

一 蝃蝀在東.莫之敢指.女子有行.遠父母兄弟.
二 朝隮于西.崇朝其雨.女子有行.遠兄弟父母.
三 乃如之人也.懷昏姻也.大無信也.不知命也.

2. Odes, I, XV, V, 1, 2.

詩經 卷三 (伐柯)

一 伐柯如何.匪斧不克.取妻如何.匪媒不得.
二 伐柯伐柯.其則不遠.我覯之子.籩豆有踐.

And the daughter of Tsi went by it to her husband's.
Since she went to her husband's,
Why do you further think of her?

2. The five kinds of dolichos shoes are made in pairs,
And the string ends of the cap are made to match;
The way to Loo is easy and plain,
The daughter of Tsi traveled it.
Since she traveled it why do you still follow her?

(Note: Shoes in pairs and capstrings to match suggest the natural mating of one man with one woman.)

3. How do we proceed in planting hemp?
The acres must be dressed lengthwise and crosswise.
How do we proceed in taking a wife?
Announcement must first be made to her parents.
Since such announcement must be made
Why do you still indulge her desires?

4. How do you proceed in splitting firewood?
Without an axe-handle it cannot be done.
How do we proceed in taking a wife?
Without a 'go-between' it cannot be done.
Since then it was done
Why do you still allow her to go to this extreme?
[Note 1.]

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1. Odes, I, VIII, VI, 1, 2, 3, 4.

詩經 卷三 (南山)

一 南山崔崔.雄狐綏綏.魯道有蕩.齊子由歸.既曰歸止.
曷又懷止.

二 葛屨五兩.冠緌雙止.魯道有蕩.齊子庸止.既曰庸止.
曷又從止.

三 藝麻如之何.衡從其畝.取妻如之何.必告父母.既曰告止.
曷又鞠止.

四 析薪如之何.匪斧不克.取妻如之何.匪媒不得.既曰得止.
曷又極止.

The whole point of this ode is the condemnation of the marchioness of Lu. Professor Legge says, "In B.C. 708, Kuei, the marquis of Lu, known as duke Huan, married a daughter of the house of Tsi, known as Wen Chiang. There was an improper affection between her and her brother; and on the brother's succession to Tsi, the couple visited him. The consequences were incest between brother and sister, the murder of the husband, and a disgraceful connection long continued between the guilty pair." Several of the odes which follow this one are written for the purpose of condemning this affair. The woman's husband is blamed for not preventing it, and later her son, for allowing the affair to continue.

This affair has been so thoroughly condemned in the odes as to make it stand out as a striking contrast to the normal standards of the time.

Some of the odes are expressive of greater freedom of forming attachments between young men and young women, but these are generally condemned by Chinese scholars as very bad practices.

1. Full and good looking was the gentleman,
   Who waited for me in the lane!
   I repent that I did not go with him.

2. A splendid gentleman was he,
   Who waited for me in the hall!
   I regret that I did not accompany him.

3. Over my embroidered upper robe,
I have put on a single garment;
Over my embroidered lower robe I have done the same.
Oh Sir, oh Sir,
Have your carriage ready for me to go with you.
[Note 1.]

1. If you, sir, think kindly of me,
I will hold up my lower garments and cross the Tsin.
If you do not think kindly of me,
Is there no other person to do so?
You foolish, foolish fellow!

2. If you, sir, think kindly of me,
I will hold up my lower garments and cross the Wei.
If you do not think of me,
Is there no other gentleman to do so?
You foolish, foolish fellow! [Note 2.]

The following is supposed to suggest an improper union which is prevented from consummation by the presence of a strict and virtuous ruler.

2. His great carriage moves heavily and slowly,
And his robes of rank glitter like a carnation gem.
Do I not think of you?
But I am afraid of this officer (or ruler) and do not rush to you.

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1. Odes, I, VII, XIV, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷三 (丰)

一 子之丰兮.俟我乎巷兮.悔予不送兮.
二 子之昌兮.俟我乎堂兮.悔予不將兮.
三 衣錦褧衣.裳錦褧裳.叔兮伯兮.駕予與行.

2. Odes, I, VII, XIII, 1, 2.

詩經 卷三 (褰裳)

一 子惠思我.褰裳涉溱.子不我思.豈無他人.狂童之狂也且.
二 子惠思我.褰裳涉洧.子不我思.豈無他士.狂童之狂也且.

3. While living we may have to occupy different apartments;
But when dead we shall share the same grave.
If you say that I am not sincere,
By the bright sun I swear that I am. [Note 1.]

This pledge of faithfulness until death would seem to suggest a worthy attachment, but the following ode shows the disappointment which came to a girl who yielded too readily in a similar case. The interpretation of these odes has always been to condemn the easy familiarity here suggested.

1. A simple looking lad you were,
Carrying cloth to exchange it for silk :—
You came to make proposals to me,
I convoyed you through the Chi,
As far as Tung-kou.
'It is not I', I said, 'who would protract the time
But you have had no good 'go-between'.
I pray you be not angry,
And let autumn be the time!'

2. I ascended that ruinous wall,
To look towards Fuh-kwan;
And when I saw you not coming from it,
My tears flowed in streams.
When I did see you coming from Fuh-kwan,
I laughed and I spoke.
You had consulted, you said, the tortoise-shell and the reeds,
And there was nothing unfavorable in their response.
'Then come,' I said, 'with your carriage,
And I will remove with my goods.'

3. Before the mulberry tree has shed its leaves
How rich and glossy are they!
Ah, thou dove,
Eat not its fruit (to excess).

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1. Odes, I, VI, IX, 2, 3.

詩經 卷二 (大車)

二 大車惇惇.毳衣如菼.豈不爾思.畏子不奰.

三 穀則異室.死則同穴.謂予不信.有如皦日.

Ah; Thou young lady
Seek no licentious pleasure with a gentleman.
When a gentleman indulges in such pleasure,
Something may still be said for him;
When a lady does so
Nothing can be said for her.
....

5. For three years I was your wife,
And thought nothing of my toil in your house,
I rose early and went to sleep late,
Not intermitting my labors for a morning.
Thus on my part our contract was fulfilled,
But you have behaved thus cruelly.
My brothers will not know all this,
And will only laugh at me.
Silently I think of it
And bemoan myself.

6. I was to grow old with you;—
Old, you give me cause for sad repining.
The Chi has its banks,
And the marsh has its shores,
In the pleasant time of my girlhood, with my hair simply gathered in a knot,
Harmoniously we talked and laughed.
Clearly were we sworn to good faith,
And I did not think the engagement would be broken.
That it would be broken I did not think,
And now it must all be over! [Note 1.]

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1. Odes, I, V, IV, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.

詩經 卷二 (氓)

一 氓之蚩蚩.抱布貿絲.匪來貿絲.來即我謀.送子涉淇.
至于頓丘.匪我愆期.子無良媒.將子無怒.秋以爲期.

二 乘彼垝垣.以望復關.不見復關.泣涕漣漣.既見復關.
載笑載言.爾卜爾筮.體無咎言.以爾車來.以我賄遷.

三 桑之未落.其葉沃若.于嗟鳩兮.無食桑葚.于嗟女兮.
無與士耽.士之耽兮.猶可說也.女之耽兮.不可說也.

五 三歲爲婦.靡室勞矣.夙興夜寐.靡有朝矣.言旣遂矣.
至于暴矣.兄弟不知.咥其笑矣.靜言思之.躬自悼矣.

六 及爾偕老.老使我怨.淇則有岸.隰則有泮.總角之宴.
言笑晏晏.信誓旦旦,不思其反.反是不思.亦已焉哉.

There are a very few odes which according to the Chinese interpretation suggest extreme freedom and improper relations between the sexes. This is one of the most extreme.

The Chiu and the Wei
Now present their broad sheets of water.
Ladies and gentlemen
Are carrying flowers of valerian.
A lady says, 'Have you been to see?'
A gentleman replies, 'I have been.'
But let us go again to see.
Beyond the Wei,
The ground is large and fit for pleasure
So the gentlemen and ladies make sport together,
Presenting one another with small peonies.
[Note 2.]

The few odes of this class are supposed to be included in the canon as a perpetual condemnation of the states in which they were produced. And no other explanation would seem to account for the fact that Confucius allowed them to be included in his collection.

We have here presented the odes picturing the best and the worst in the early Chinese sex morality. We can only conclude that there were well established popular sentiments supporting the institution of the family and demanding very orderly conduct between the sexes.

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2. Odes, I, VII, XXI.

詩經 卷三 溱洧

一 溱與洧.方渙渙兮.士與女.方秉蕑兮.女曰觀乎.士曰既且.且往觀乎.洧之外.洵訏且樂.維士與女.伊其相謔.贈之以勺藥.

was probably more easy to maintain these standards because of the universal practice of comparatively early marriage.

All girls were supposed to be married before twenty and all men before thirty years of age. It seems probable, however, that most of the men were in fact married soon after the age of twenty, if not before. [Note 1.]

III. *Ruler and Subject.*

Of all the subjects treated in this ancient literature, the most popular theme is that which deals with the moral character of the ruler.

"It is for him who is in the position of king to overtop all with his virtues. In this case the people imitate him throughout the whole empire and the king will become illustrious." [Note 2.]

These words were spoken as an exhortation to the young king Chen, soon after the founding of the Chou dynasty, about 1,100 B.C.

Probably our best approach to the study of the moral sentiments referring to the ruler and his exalted moral station in the eyes of the people is to present a rather full story of the training of one of these young rulers as it is translated from the Book of History. It refers

1. See Hirth Ancient History of China, p. 116.

2. History, V, VII, 22.
尙書（召誥）
其惟王位在德元.小民乃惟刑用于天下.越王顯.

to the occasion immediately after the death of Tang, the Successful, when his young son, Tai-chia, became his successor.

"In the twelfth month of the first year I-yin (the minister) sacrificed to the former king and presented the heir to the throne reverently before his ancestor. All the princes from the domain of the nobles and the imperial domain were present; the various officers were also in attendance with their several duties to receive orders from the prime minister. I-yin then clearly described the accomplished virtue of the meritorious ancestor for the instruction of the new king. [Note 1.]

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1. History, IV, IV.

尙書 伊訓

一 惟元祀.十有二月乙丑.伊尹祠于先王.奉嗣王祗見厥祖.侯甸羣后咸在.百官總己以聽冢宰.伊尹乃明言烈祖之成德.以訓于王.

二 曰.嗚呼.古有夏先后.方懋厥德.罔有天災.山川鬼神.亦莫不寧.暨鳥獸魚鼈咸若.于其子孫弗率.皇天降災.假手于我有命.造攻自鳴條.朕哉自亳.

三 惟我商王布昭聖武.代虐以寬.兆民允懷.

四 今王嗣厥德.罔不在初.立愛惟親.立敬惟長.始于家邦.終于四海.

五 嗚呼.先王肇修人紀.從諫弗咈.先民時若.居上克明.爲下克忠.與人不求備.儉身若不及.以至于有萬邦.茲惟艱哉.

六 敷求哲人.俾輔于爾後嗣.

七 制官刑.儆于有位.曰.敢有恒舞于宮.酣歌于室.時謂巫風.敢有殉于貨色.恒于遊畋.時謂淫風.敢有侮聖言.逆忠直.遠耆德.比頑童.時謂亂風.惟茲三風十愆.卿士有一于身.家必喪.邦君有一于身.國必亡.臣下不匡.其刑墨.具訓于蒙士.

八 嗚呼.嗣王祗厥德.念哉.聖謨洋洋.嘉言孔彰.惟上帝不常.作善降之百祥.作不善降之百殃.爾惟德.罔小.萬邦惟慶.爾惟不德.罔大.墜厥宗.

"He said, 'Oh! of old, the earlier sovereigns of Hsia cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity. And the birds and bees, the fishes and tortoises all realized the happiness of their nature; but their descendants did not follow their example and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our ruler who had received its favoring appointment.....Our king of Shang had brilliantly displayed his sacred prowess. When for oppression he substituted his generous gentleness, the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtues;—everything depends on how you commence your reign. To set up love it is for you to love your elders; to set up respect it is for you to respect your relatives. The commencement is in the family and the state. The consummation is in the empire.

"'Oh! The former king (your father) began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together:—he listened to expostulation and did not cease to resist it; he conformed to the wisdom of former people; occupying the highest position he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position he displayed loyalty; he allowed the good qualities of others, and did

not seek that they should have every talent; in the government of himself, he seemed to think he could never sufficiently attain. It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions. How painstaking was he in these things! He extensively sought out wise men who should be helpful to you, his descendants and heirs. He laid down the punishments for officers and warned them who were in authority, saying, 'If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers,—that is called sorcerer's fashion; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to hunting—that is called the fashion of dissipation; if you dare to contemn the words of sages, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to be familiar with the precocious youths—that is called the fashion of disorder.'

"'Oh! Do you who now succeed to the throne revere these instructions in your person? Think of them! Sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly displayed. The ways of Shang-ti are not invariable;—on the good doer He sends down all blessings, and on the evil doer He sends down all miseries. Do you be but virtuous, and the myriad regions will have cause for congratulation. If you be not

virtuous, they will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple.' [Note 1.]

"The king on succeeding to the throne, did not follow this advice. I-yin then made the following writing: 'The former king (your father) kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and served and obeyed the spirits of Heaven and earth and of the land and the grain, and of the ancestral temple;—all with a reverent veneration. Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him that he should soothe and tranquilize the myriad regions. I, I-yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement

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Op, Cit, Book, V, I.

太甲上

一 惟嗣王不惠于阿衡.

二 伊尹作書曰.先王顧諟天之明命.以存上下神祇.社稷宗廟.罔不祗肅.天監厥德.用集大命.撫綏萬方.惟尹躬克左右厥辟宅師.肆嗣王丕承基緒.

三 惟尹躬先見于西邑夏.自周有終.相亦惟終.其後嗣王罔克有終.相亦罔終.嗣王戒哉.祗爾厥辟.辟不辟.忝厥祖.

四 王惟庸罔念聞.

五 伊尹乃言曰.先王昧爽丕顯.坐以待旦.旁求俊彥.啟迪後人.無越厥命以自覆.

六 慎乃儉德.惟懷永圖.

七 若虞機張.往省括于度.則釋.欽厥止.率乃祖攸行.惟朕以懌.萬世有辭.

八 王未克變.

九 伊尹曰.茲乃不義.習與性成.予弗狎于弗順.營于桐宮.密邇先王其訓.無俾世迷.

十 王徂桐宮.居憂.克終允德.

of the people. And thus it is that your majesty, inheriting the crown, has become charged with the line of the great succession.

"'I have seen it myself in Hsia with its eastern capital that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same; but afterwards when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-King. Reverently use your sovereignty. The sovereign, if you do not play the sovereign, you will disgrace your ancestor.'

"The king would not think of these words, nor listen to them. On this I-yin said, 'The former king, before it was light, sought to have clear views, and then sat waiting for the morning. He also sought on every side for men of ability and virtue to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate this charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue of self-restraint and cherish far-reaching plans. . . ; Reverently determine your end, and follow the ways of your ancestor. Thus shall I be delighted, and be able to all ages to show that I have discharged my trust.'

"The King was not yet able to change his course. I-yin said to himself, 'This is real unrighteousness, and is becoming by practice a second nature. I cannot bear to be near such a disobedient person. I will build a place in the

palace at Tung, where he can be quietly near the (remains of the) former King. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life.' The king went accordingly to the palace in Tung and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous." [Note 1.]

"On the first day of the twelfth month of the third year, I-yin took the imperial cap and robes, and escorted the young king back to Po (to undertake the duties of government). At the same time he made the following writing;—'Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to the comfort of their lives; without the people, the sovereign could have no sway over the four quarters. Great Heaven has greatly favored the House of Shang and granted to you, O young king, at

1. Op, Cit, Part, ii.

太甲中

一 惟三祀.十有二月朔.伊尹以冕服.奉嗣王歸于亳.

二 作書曰.民非后罔克胥匡以生.后非民.罔以辟四方.皇天眷佑有商.俾嗣王克終厥德.實萬世無疆之休.

三 王拜手稽首曰.予小子不明于德.自底不類.欲敗度.縱敗禮.以速戾于厥躬.天作孽.猶可違.自作孽.不可逭.既往背師保之訓.弗克于厥初.
尙賴匡救之德.圖維厥終.

四 伊尹拜手稽首曰.修厥身.允德協于下.惟明后.

五 先王子惠困窮.民服厥命.罔有不悅.並其有邦厥鄰.乃曰.徯我后.后來無罰.

六 王懋乃德.視乃烈祖.無時豫怠.

七 奉先思孝.接下思恭.視遠惟明.聽德惟聰.朕承王之休無斁.

last to become virtuous. This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations.'

"The King did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, 'I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at naught all rules of conduct, and by my self-indulgence I was violating all rules of propriety;- the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape. Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my Tutor and Guardian :—my beginning has been marked by incompetency. May I still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good !'

"I-yin did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground and said, 'To cultivate his person, and by being sincerely virtuous bring all below to harmonious concord with him ;—this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former King was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands, all with sincere delight. Even in the States of the neighboring princes the people said, "We are waiting for our sovereign ; when

our sovereign comes we shall not suffer the punishments which we now do."

"'O king, zealously cultivate your virtue, regard the example of your meritorious ancestor. At no time allow yourself (licence) in pleasure and idleness. When honoring your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety. In receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful; in looking at what is distant try to get clear views; have your ears ever open to listen to virtue;—then shall I respond to the excellence of your majesty with an untiring devotion to your service.' [Note 1.]

"I-yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, 'Oh! Heaven has no affections, only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant to those whom they cherish;—they cherish only him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices offered to them, they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere. A place of difficulty is the Heaven-conferred seat. He who at last as at first is careful as to whom and

1. Op, Cit, Part, iii.

太甲下

一 伊尹申誥于王曰.嗚呼.惟天無親.克敬惟親.民罔常懷.懷于有仁.鬼神無常享.享于克誠.天位艱哉.

二 德惟治.否德亂.與治同道罔不興.與亂同事罔不亡.終始愼厥與.惟明明后.

三 先王惟時懋敬厥德.克配上帝.

what he follows is the truly intelligent sovereign. The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God. Now, O King, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line; fix your inspection on him.' "

In making a more thorough study of the relationships between the ruler and his subjects we will do well to treat them under several subtopics.

A. *The Moral Character of the Ruler and His Interest in the People.*

We have seen above how the ruler is called the parent of the people, how a feudal prince is instructed to "deal with evil as if it were a sickness in your own person", and "deal with the people as if you were guarding your infants". [Note 1.]

In a time of great drought King Suen is reported as lamenting:

> This wasting and ruin of our country,
> Would that it fell only on me. [Note 2.]

Again it is said, "King Wen dressed meanly, and gave himself to the work of tranquilization

今王嗣有令緒.尙監茲哉

1. See above, p. 79.

2. Odes, III, III, IV.
耗斁下土.寧丁我躬.

and to husbandry. Admirable, mild and beautifully humble, he cherished and protected the inferior people, and showed a fostering kindness to the widowers and widows. From morning to mid-day, and from mid-day to sun-down, he did not allow himself time to eat;—thus seeking to secure the happy harmony of the myriads of the people. King Wen did not dare to go to any excess in his excursions or his hunting, and from the various states he received only the correct amount of contribution. He received the appointment of Heaven in the middle of his life and (because of his virtue) enjoyed the throne for fifty years." [Note 1.]

Tang the Successful, founder of the Shang dynasty, laments that he may appear to future generations as a usurper. His minister is said to have encouraged him with these words, "(You) Our king did not approach to dissolute music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and money. To great virtue he gave great offices; to great merit he gave great rewards. He employed others as if their ability

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1. History, V, XV, 9-11

尙書 無逸

九 文王卑服.卽康功田功.

十 徽柔懿恭.懷保小民.惠鮮鰥寡.自朝至于日中昃.不遑暇食.用咸和萬民.

十一 文王不敢盤于遊田.以庶邦惟正之供.文王受命惟中身.厥享國五十年.

were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent from the display of such virtues confidence was reposed in him by the people." [Note 1.]

He continues, describing the king's administration of justice, saying, "when it went on in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured;—they said, 'why does he make us alone the last?' To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their chambers saying, 'we have waited for a prince; our prince is come, and we revive.' The people's honoring our Shang is a thing of long existence.

"Show favor to the able and right principled among the princes; and aid to the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak and punish the wilfully

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1. History, IV, II, 5-8.

尙書 仲虺之誥

五 惟王不邇聲色 不殖貨利.德懋懋官.功懋懋賞.用人惟己.改過不吝.克寬克仁.彰信兆民.

六 乃葛伯仇餉.初征自葛.東征.西夷怨.南征.北狄怨.曰奚獨後予.攸阻之民.室家相慶.曰.傒予后.后來其蘇.民之戴商.厥惟舊哉.

七 佑賢輔德.顯思遹乂.兼弱攻昧.取亂侮亡.推亡固存.邦乃其昌.

八 德日新.萬邦惟懷.志自滿.九族乃離.王懋昭大德.建中于民.以義制事.以禮制心.垂裕後昆.予聞曰.能自得師者王.謂人莫己若者亡.好問則裕.自用則小.

blind; take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin. Thus overthrowing the perishing and strengthening what is being preserved, how will the states all flourish.

"When a sovereign's virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad states; when he is full of his own will, he is abandoned by the nine classes of his kindred. Exert yourself, O King, to make your great virtue illustrious, and set up the pattern of the Mean before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety;—so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying 'He who finds instructors for himself comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself comes to ruin. He who likes to ask becomes enlarged; he who uses only himself becomes small'." [Note 1.]

This same type of ideal for the ruler will appear continuously in our further study.

The duke of Chou continuing, as regent, the work of his father Wen, and his brother Wu, in establishing the newly founded Chou dynasty, is pictured as enduring great hardships in the expeditions to the various parts of the kingdom.

His citizen-soldiers sing of their expedition as follows:

1. Op. Cit.

1. We broke our axes,
And we splintered our hatchets;
But the object of the duke of Chou in marching to the east,
Is to put the four states to rights.
His compassion for us people
Is very great.

2. We broke our axes,
And splintered our chisels;
But the object of the duke of Chou in marching to the east,
Was to reform the four states.
His compassion for us people
Is very admirable.

3. We broke our axes;
And splintered our clubs;
But the object of the duke of Chou in marching to the east
Was to save the alliance of the four states.
His compassion for us people
Is very excellent. [Note 1.]

B. *The work of the Ministers and Princes.*

The king was not alone responsible for the work of carrying on his government. He was expected to associate with him men of similar virtues and character. The duke of Chou in speaking of his father's success says:

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1. Odes, I, XV, IV, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷三 破斧

一 既破我斧.又缺我戕.周公東征.四國是皇.哀我人斯.
亦孔之將.

二 既破我斧.又缺我鋮.周公東征.四國是吡.哀我人斯.
亦孔之嘉.

三 既破我斧.又缺我錞.周公東征.四國是遒.哀我人斯.
亦孔之休.

"That king Wen was able to conciliate and unite the portion of the great empire which we come to possess was owing to his having such ministers as his brother of Chieh, Huang-wao, San-i-sen, Tai-tien, and Nan-kong-kueh." He repeated this sentiment: "But for the ability of these men to go and come in his affairs, developing his constant lessons, there would have been no benefits descending from king Wen upon the people. And it was also from the determinate favor of Heaven that there were these men of firm virtue, and active, according to their knowledge of the dread majesty of Heaven, to give themselves to enlighten king Wen, and lead him forward to his high distinction and the universal over-rule, till his fame reached the ears of Shang-ti, and he received the decree of Yin." [Note 1.]

Many of the Odes also celebrate the moral qualities of ministers and princes.

1. Heaven in giving birth to the multitudes of the people,
To every faculty and relationship annexed its law.
The people possess this normal nature.

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1. History, V, XVI, 12-14.

尙書 君奭

十二 惟文王.尙克修和我有夏.亦惟有若虢叔.有若閎天.有若散宜生.有若泰顚.有若南宮括.

十三 又曰.無能往來.茲迪彝教.文王蔑德.降于國人.

十四 亦惟純佑秉德.迪知天威.乃惟時昭文王.迪見冒.聞于上帝.惟時受有殷命哉.

And they consequently love this normal virtue.
Heaven beheld the ruler of Chou
Brilliantly affecting it by his conduct below;
And to maintain him (as) its son,
Gave birth to Chong-san-fu.

2. The virtue of Chong-san-fu
Is mild and admirable according as it ought to be.
Good is his deportment; good his looks;
The lessons of antiquity are his law;
He is strenuously attentive to his deportment.
In full accord with the Son of Heaven
He is employed to spread about his bright decree.

3. The king gave charge to Chong-san-fu;
'Be a pattern to all the princes;
Continue the services of your ancestors.
You have to protect the royal person,
Give out the royal decrees and a report on them.
Be the king's throat and tongue;
Spread his government abroad,
So that in all quarters it shall be responded to.'

4. Most dignified was the king's charge,
And Chong-san-fu carries it into due execution.
In the states, the princes, be they good or bad,
Are clearly distinguished by Chong-san-fu.
Intelligent is he and wise,
Protecting his own person;
Never idle day or night,
In the service of the One Man.

5. The people have a saying;—
'The soft is devoured,
And the hard is ejected from the mouth.'
But Chong-san-fu
Does not devour the soft,
Nor eject the powerful.
He does not insult the poor or widow;
He does not fear the strong or oppressive.

6. The people have a saying
'Virtue is light as a hair,
But few are able to lift it.'
When I think of the matter,
It is only Chong-san-fu that can lift it.

I love him but can do nothing to help him.
Any defects in the king's duties
Are supplied by Chong-san-fu. [Note 1.]

Two more stanzas continue the praise of the noble Chong-san-fu.

1. The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree,
And her young ones are seven;
The virtuous man, the princely one,
Is uniformly correct in his deportment.
He is uniformly correct in his deportment,
His heart is as it were tied to what is correct.
....

3. The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree,
And her young ones are in the jujube tree;
The virtuous man, the princely one,
Has nothing wrong in his deportment.
He has nothing wrong in his deportment,
And thus he rectifies the four quarters of the state. [Note 2.]

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1. Odes, III, III, VI, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

詩經 卷七 烝民

一 天生烝民.有物有則.民之秉彝.好是懿德.天監有周.昭假于下.保茲天子.生仲山甫.

二 仲山甫之德.柔嘉維則.令儀令色.小心翼翼.古訓是式.威儀是力.天子是若.明命使賦.

三 王命仲山甫.式是百辟.纘戎祖考.王躬是保.出納王命.王之喉舌.賦政于外.四方爰發.

四 肅肅王命.仲山甫將之.邦國若否.仲山甫明之.既明且哲.以保其身.夙夜匪懈.以事一人.

五 人亦有言.柔則茹之.剛則吐之.維仲山甫.柔亦不茹.剛亦不吐.不侮矜寡.不畏彊禦.

六 人亦有言.德輶如毛.民鮮克舉之.我儀圖之.維仲山甫舉之.愛莫助之.袞職有闕.維仲山甫補之.

2. Odes, I, XIV, III, 1, 3.

詩經 卷三 鳲鳩

一 鳲鳩在桑.其子七兮.淑人君子.其儀一兮.其儀一兮.心如結兮.

三 鳲鳩在桑.其子在棘.淑人君子.其儀不忒.其儀不忒.正是四國.

A king praises the princes.

Ye, brilliant and accomplished princes,
Have conferred on me this happiness.
Your favors to me are without limit,
And my descendants will preserve the fruits of them.
Be not mercenary nor extravagant in your states,
And the king will honor you,
Thinking of this great service,
He will enlarge the dignity of your successors.

What is most powerful is being the man ;—
Its influence will be felt throughout your states.
What is most distinguished is being virtuous ;—
It will secure the imitation of all the princes.
Ah, the former kings are not forgotten ! [Note 1.]

1. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu.
Unable to rest or take his ease (where he was),
He divided and subdivided the country into fields ;
He stored up the produce in fields and in barns ;
He tied up dried meat and grain,
In bottomless bags and in sacks ;—
That he might hold the people together and glorify his tribe.
Then with bows and arrows all ready,
And with shields and spears and axes, large and small,
He commenced his march. [Note 2.]

Five more long stanzas celebrate the efforts of Duke Liu in securing a suitable location for his

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1. Odes, IV, I, i, IV.

詩經 卷八 烈文

烈文辟公.錫茲祉福.惠我無疆.子孫保之.無封靡于爾邦.維王其從之.念茲戎功.繼序其皇之.○無競維人.四方其訓之.不顯維德.百辟其刑之.於乎前王不忘.

2. Odes, III, II, VI, 1.

詩經 卷六 公劉

篤公劉.匪居匪康.迺場迺疆.迺積迺倉.迺裹餱糧.于橐于囊.思輯用光.弓矢斯張.干戈戚揚.爰方啓行.

tribe, developing and establishing its tribal life at its best. Duke Liu is one of the ancestors of the kings Wen and Wu of the Chou dynasty, and his services for his people are supposed to have been performed about 1800 B.C.

The king says, "Oh Feng, to have a good understanding with the multitudes of his people and his ministers on the one hand, and with the great families on the other; and again to have the same with all the subjects under his charge and with the sovereign; is the part of the prince of a state.—Regularly in giving out your orders say, 'My instructors, whom I am to follow, my minister of Instruction, my minister of War, and my minister of Works; my heads of departments, and all ye, my officers, I will on no account with oppressions put men to death.'" [Note 1.]

We have seen something of the way in which not only the king, but all his ministers and princes were expected to display the highest virtues and abilities; and how all the leaders were supposed to co-operate for the good of the people.

The success of the king depended on his having at least a prime minister of the highest virtue and abilities.

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1. History, V, XI, 1, 2.

尙書 梓材

一 王曰.封.以厥庶民暨厥臣.達大家.以厥臣達王.惟邦君.

二 汝若恒越曰.我有師師.司徒.司馬.司空.尹旅.曰.予罔厲殺人.

The duke of Chou said: "Prince Shih, I have heard that of ancient time, when Tang the Successful had received the favoring decree, he had with him I-yin, making his virtue like that of great Heaven. Tai-chia, again, he had Poo-hang. Tai-mou had I-chih and Chin-fu, through whom his virtue was made to affect Shang-ti (God). These ministers carried their principles and affected their arrangements, preserving and regulating the empire of Yin." [Note 1.]

It was clearly recognized that the main work of the King was accomplished through this personal example and his choice of good ministers and associates.

"King Wen was able to have in himself the minds of those in the three high positions, and so it was that he established those regular officers and superintending pastors, so that they were men of ability and virtue. He would not himself appear in the various notifications, in litigation, and in precautionary measures of government. There were the officers and pastors to attend to them, whom he simply required to be obedient and not disobedient. Yea, as to litiga-

1. History, V, XVI, 7, 8.

尙書 君奭

七 公曰.君奭.我聞在昔.成湯旣受命.時則有若伊尹格于皇天.在太甲.時則有若保衡.在太戊.時則有若伊陟臣扈格于上帝巫咸乂王家.在祖乙.時則有若巫賢.在武丁.時則有若甘盤.

八 率惟玆有陳.保乂有殷.故殷禮陟配天.多歷年所.

tion and precautionary measure, he would seem as if he did not presume to know about them. He was followed by king Wu, who carried out his work of settlement, and did not dare to supersede his righteous and virtuous men, who entered also into his plans, employing as before his forbearing and virtuous men. It was thus that they unitedly received this vast inheritance.

"Oh! Young son, the king, from this time forth be it ours to establish the government, appointing the high officers, the officers of the laws, and the pastors;—be it ours clearly to know what courses are natural to them, and then greatly to employ them in the government, that they may aid us in the management of the trust of the people, and harmoniously conduct all litigations and precautionary measures. And let us never allow others to come between us and them. Yea, in our every word and speech, let us be thinking of officers of complete virtue, to regulate the people whom we have received." [Note 1.]

1. History, V, XIX, 12-17.

尙書 立政

十二 文王惟克厥宅心.乃克立茲常事.司牧人.以克俊有德.
十三 文王罔攸兼于庶言庶獄庶愼.惟有司之牧夫.是訓用違.
十四 庶獄庶愼.文王罔敢知于茲.
十五 亦越武王率惟敉功.不敢替厥義德.率惟謀.從容德.
以竝受此丕丕基.
十六 嗚呼.孺子王矣.繼自今.我其立政.立事.準人.牧夫.
我其克灼知厥若.丕乃俾亂.相我受民.和我庶獄庶愼.
時則勿有間之.
十七 自一話一言.我則末惟成德之彥.以乂我受民.

The emphasis is always on the effort of the ruler to secure good associates, and to depend on these personal relationships rather than on abstract laws or his own power alone, for the strength of his government. This is characteristic of all the Chinese classical literature.

C. *The Popularity of Good Rulers.*

There are a great number of odes in praise of the ideal kings. We can only quote briefly from one of these.

1. The illustration of illustrious virtue is required below,
And the dread majesty is on high.
Heaven (its appointment) is not easy to be relied on.
It is not easy to be king.
Yin's rightful heir to the heavenly seat
Was not permitted to possess the kingdom.
.....

3. This king Wen,
Watchfully and reverently,
With entire intelligence served Shang-ti,
And so secured a great blessing.
His virtue was without deflection;
And in consequence he received (the allegiance of) the states of all quarters.

4. Heaven surveyed this lower world and its appointment lighted on king Wen.
In his early years,
It (Heaven) made for him a mate;—
On the north of the Hsia;
On the banks of the Wei.
When king Wen would wive,
There was a lady in a large state.

5. In a large state was the lady,
Like a fair denizen of Heaven;
The ceremonies determined the auspiciousness of the union,
And in person he met her on the Wei.
Over it he made a bridge of boats;—
The glory of the occasion was illustrious.

6. The favoring appointment was from Heaven,
Giving the throne to our king Wen,
In the capital of Chou.
The lady's successor was from Chiu.
Its eldest daughter who came to marry him,
She was blessed to give birth to king Wu,
Who was preserved and helped and received also the appointment.
And in accordance with it smote the great Shang. [Note 1.]

There are many more odes showing similar enthusiasm for the rulers, who satisfied the ideals of these early Chinese writers of odes. But there are also many pictures of rulers who were far below the standards.

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1. Odes, III, I, III, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6.

詩經 卷六 大明

一 明明在下.赫赫在上.天難忱斯.不易維王.天位殷適.使不挾四方.

三 維此文王.小心翼翼.昭事上帝.聿懷多福.厥德不回.以受方國.

四 天監在下.有命既集.文王初載.天作之合.在洽之陽.在渭之涘.文王嘉止.大邦有子.

五 大邦有子.俔天之妹.文定厥祥.親迎于渭.造舟爲梁.不顯其光.

六 有命自天.命此文王.于周于京.纘女維莘.長子維行.篤生武王.保右命爾.燮伐大商.

D. *Some Conspicuous Failures.*

We have already learned of the weakness and wickedness of the last kings of both the Hsia and Shang dynasties. But there are odes condemning a number of kings and princes who were still able to hold their hereditary seat in the royal or princely lines.

An evil reign is accompanied by disturbances of nature.

2. *The sun and moon announce evil.* (an eclipse)
Not keeping to their proper paths.
All *through* the kingdom there is no proper government.
Because the good are not employed.
.....

3. Grandly flashes the lightning of the thunder ;—
There is a want of rest, a want of good.
The streams all bubble up and overflow,
The crags on the hilltops fall down.
High banks become valleys ;
Deep valleys become hills.
Alas for the men of this time !
How does the king not stop these things?

4. Huang-fu is the president ;
Fan is the minister of instruction ;
Chia-pih is the chief administrator ;
Chang-yuin is the chief cook ;
Tsou is the recorder of the interior ;
Kueh is master of the house ;
Yu is captain of the guards.
And the beautiful wife blazes, now in possession of her place.

5. This Huang-fu
Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season.
But why does he call us to action,
Without coming and consulting with us?

He has removed our walls and roofs,
And our fields are all either marsh or moor.
He says, I am not injuring you;
The laws require that thus it shall be?

6. Huang-fu is very wise;
He has built a great city for himself in Shang.
He chose three men as his ministers;
All of them indeed of great wealth.
He could not bring himself to leave a single minister,
Who might guard our king.
.....

.....

8. Distant far is my village,
And my dissatisfaction is great.
In other quarters there is ease,
And I dwell here alone and sorrowful.
Everybody (among the officers) is going into retirement,
And I alone dare not seek rest.
The ordinances of Heaven are inexplicable.
But I will not dare to follow my friends and leave my post. [Note 1.]

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1. Odes, II, IV, IX, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8.

詩經 卷五 十月之交

二 日月告凶.不用其行.四國無政.不用其良.彼月而食.
則維其常.此日而食.于何不臧.

三 爗爗震電.不寧不令.百川沸騰.山冢崒崩.高岸爲谷.
深谷爲陵.哀今之人.胡憯莫懲.

四 皇父卿士.番維司徒.家伯冢宰.仲允膳夫.棸子內史.
蹶維趣馬.楀維師氏.豔妻煽方處.

五 抑此皇父.豈曰不時.胡爲我作.不即我謀.徹我牆屋.
田卒汙萊.曰予不戕.禮則然矣.

六 皇父孔聖.作都于向.擇三有事.亶侯多藏.不慭遺一老.
俾守我王.擇有車馬.以車徂向.

八 悠悠我里.亦孔之痗.四方有羨.我獨居憂.民莫不逸.
我獨不敢休.天命不徹.我不敢傚我友自逸.

Our sovereign makes frequent covenants,
And the disorders thereby are increased.
He believes the scoundrels,
And disorders thereby grow into oppression.
[Note 1.]

Look at the hare seeking protection ;
Someone will step in before and save it.
On the road there is a dead man ;
Someone will bury him.
But such is the heart of *our sovereign*,
That there is nothing he cannot bear to do.
My heart is sad,
So that my tears are falling down. [Note 2.]

We might multiply these quotations almost indefinitely, but we have given enough to show that the popular conscience was sufficiently developed to condemn princes and even the king himself, when his ways seemed destructive of their political and moral standards.

E. *Some Loyal Subjects.*

The king's business is thrown on me,
And the affairs of government are left to me more and more.
When I come home from abroad,
The members of my family all emulously thrust at me.
So it is ;

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1. Odes, II, V, IV, 3.

詩經 卷五 巧言

三 君子屢盟.亂是用長.君子信盜.亂是用暴.

2. Odes II, V, III, 6.

詩經 卷五 小弁

六 相彼投兎.尚或先之.行有死人.尚或墐之.君子秉心.
維其忍之.心之憂矣.涕既隕之.

Heaven has done it;—
What then shall I say? [Note 1.]

How shall it be said that you have no clothes?
I will share my underclothes with you.
The king is raising his forces;
I will prepare my spear and lance,
And will take the field with you. [Note 2.]

I ascend the northern hill,
And gather the medlars.
An officer strong and righteous,
Morning and evening I am engaged in service.
The king's business is not to be slightly performed,
And my parents are left in sorrow.

2. Under the wide Heaven
All is the king's land.
Within the sea-boundary of the land,
All are the king's servants.
His great officers are unfair,
Making me serve thus as if I alone were worthy.

3. My four horses never halt;
The king's business allows no rest.
They praise me as not yet old;
They think few like me in vigor.
While the back bone retains its strength,
I must plan and labor in all parts of the kingdom.
[Note 3.]

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1. Odes, I, III, XVI, 3.

詩經 卷二 北門

三 王事敦我.政事一埤遺我.我入自外.室人交偏摧我.已焉哉.
天實爲之.謂之何哉.

2. Odes, I, XI, VIII, 3.

詩經 卷三 無衣

三 豈曰無衣.與子同裳.王于興師.脩我甲兵.與子偕行.

3. Odes, II, VI, I, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷五 北山

一 陟彼北山.言采其杞.偕偕士子.朝夕從事.王事靡盬.
憂我父母.

二 溥天之下.莫非王土.率土之濱.莫非王臣.大夫不均.
我從事獨賢.

三 四牡彭彭.王事傍傍.嘉我未老.鮮我方將.旅力方剛.
經營四方.

We may well consider here the highly significant place of the ruler in ancient China. Not only had the idea of ruler developed directly in the patriarchal system as an exaltation of the already highly honored father, but he was the most important figure for other reasons. He combined in his own person all legislative, executive and judicial functions. He regulated the calendar, introduced the seasons with proper ceremonials, also representing the people in their religious communion with the celestial world. He was responsible for maintaining order, protecting the people from enemies far and near. He had control of the land, making assignments through the princes to the people. He undertook public works of engineering, drainage, etc. His capital was the centre of education, art, literature, etc. His government was the only general institution of the people. There were no extensive commercial, professional or religious organizations as rivals of the government. When we realize also that the Chinese ruler was probably the least despotic of all ancient monarchs, we can understand why his personal character must appear as an ideal to the people. He must convince the people of his wisdom, and the benevolence of his rule or they would gradually withdraw from his support. [Note 1.]

1. In this connection see Hirth, Ancient History of China, pp. 123-4. Also note the efforts of Pan Kang to persuade his people to accept his decrees. History IV, VII, II.

He had no great standing army with which to compel their submission. When he needed an army he must appeal to the people to come to his aid. And for this he must not call them away from their farms during the busy seasons. He is indeed called the Son of Heaven ; but it was clearly shown in the 18th century B.C. that "the appointment of Heaven is not to be depended on." His dynasty might be rejected gradually or suddenly. In such a situation, the ruler must maintain the favor of the people. Where the people have well developed standards of conduct, he must at least *appear* as an ideal according to those standards. If he fails in this, his powers will diminish. He may depend for a time on his family name, or on the favor of certain princely houses, but moral and executive weakness will soon be revealed.

Quite naturally myths have grown up around the names of departed rulers. There is always a tendency to account for the great accomplishments of the past by assigning great virtues to our heroes. But in this literature after the twelfth century B.C. we are dealing with records which are almost contemporary with the events described.

These heroes are real men of history, but the literature is poetic rather than scientific. The heroes are pictured in the most favorable colors ; but the frank condemnation of unworthy rulers

gives us confidence that there must be a real foundation for the praise of those who are honored.

IV. *Friendships and Festivities.*

Although these early Chinese gave their attention primarily to the family and the ruler, there are also many manifestations of an interest in special friendships and social intercourse.

Just as a bird seeks its companions, so shall a man seek to have his friends; and the friendly man will have the favor of spiritual beings.

1. On the trees go the blows chang-chang;
And the birds cry out yin-yin,
One issues from the dark valley,
And removes to the lofty tree,
While yin goes its cry,
Seeking with its voice its companions.
Look at that bird,
Bird as it is seeking with its voice its companions;
And shall a man
Not seek to have his friends?
Spiritual beings will then hearken to him.
He shall have harmony and peace.

2. Fu-fu they go as they fell the trees;
I have strained off my spirits which are fine,
And the fatted lambs are provided
To which to invite my paternal uncles.
It is better that something should keep them from coming
Than that I should not have regarded them.
Oh! brightly I have sprinkled and swept my courtyard,
And arranged my viands, with eight dishes of grain along with my fatted meat,
To which to invite my maternal uncles.

It is better that something should keep them from coming
Than that there should be blame attaching to me. [Note 1.]

Humble gifts are recognized as tokens of great friendship.

1. There was presented to me a papaya,
And I returned for it a beautiful chiu-gem;
Not as a return for it,
But that our friendship might be lasting.

2. There was presented to me a peach,
And I returned for it a beautiful yao-gem.
Not as a return for it,
But that our friendship might be lasting.

3. There was presented to me a plum,
And I returned for it a beautiful chiu-stone;
Not as a return for it,
But that our friendship might be lasting. [Note 2.]

Here the speaker seems to have received small gifts and returned fine treasures, because he valued the friendship so highly.

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1. Odes, II, I, V, 1, 2.

詩經 卷四 伐木

一 伐木丁丁.鳥鳴嚶嚶.出自幽谷.遷于喬木.嚶其鳴矣.
求其友聲.相彼鳥矣.猶求友聲.矧伊人矣.不求友生.
神之聽之.終和且平.

二 伐木許許.釃酒有藇.既有肥羜.以速諸父.寧適不來.
微我弗顧.於粲洒埽.陳饋八簋.既有肥牡.以速諸舅.
寧適不來.微我有咎.

2. Odes, I, V, X, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷二 木瓜

一 投我以木瓜.報之以瓊琚.匪報也.永以爲好也.
二 投我以木桃.報之以瓊瑤.匪報也.永以爲好也.
三 投我以木李.報之以瓊玖.匪報也.永以爲好也.

Similarly the following indicates the value of the hospitality of a superior man although he can provide only ground leaves and a single rabbit.

1. Of the ground leaves waving about,
Some are taken and boiled;
Then the superior man from his spirits,
Pours out a cup and tastes it.

2. There is but a single rabbit,
Baked or roasted.
But the superior man, from his spirits,
Fills the cup and presents it to his guests.

3. There is but a single rabbit,
Roasted or boiled;
But from the spirits of the superior man
His guests fill the cup and pledge one another.
[Note 1.]

But friends are not always faithful, and the deserted friend feels deeply his loss.

1. Gently blows the east wind;—
The wind followed by the rain.
In the time of fear and dread,
It was all I and you.
In your time of rest and pleasure
You have turned and cast me off.

2. ....
In the time of fear and dread
You placed me in your breast.
In your time of rest and pleasure,
You cast me off like an abandoned thing.

---

1. Odes, II, VIII, VII, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷五 瓠葉

一 幡幡瓠葉.采之亨之.君子有酒.酌言嘗之.
二 有兎斯首.炮之燔之.君子有酒.酌言獻之.
三 有兎斯首.燔之炙之.君子有酒.酌言酢之.

3. .....
There is no grass which is not dying,
No tree which is not withering.
You forget my great virtues,
And think of my small faults. [Note 1.]

There is a sad story of two women in a princely household showing the evils of polygamy, but producing a rare gem of friendship. Chuang-chiang, the real wife, was childless. One of the accessory ladies, Tai-kuei, had borne the prince a son who was considered the rightful heir. But a son by an inferior concubine murdered the heir, and tried to usurp his place. On the death of the son, Tai-kuei, or the lady Chong, as she is called, leaves the palace for her native state and Chuang-chiang makes this Ode celebrating their friendship.

3. The swallows go flying about,
From below, from above, comes their twittering.
The lady was returning to her native state,
Far did I escort her to the south.
I looked till I could no longer see her,
And great was the grief of my heart.

---

1. Odes, II, V, VII, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷五 谷風

一 習習谷風.維風及雨.將恐將懼.維予與女.將安將樂.
女轉棄予.

三 習習谷風.維風及頹.將恐將懼.寘予于懷.將安將樂.
棄予如遺.

二 習習谷風.維山崔嵬.無草不死.無木不萎.忘我大德.
思我小怨.

4. Lovingly confiding was the lady of Chong,
Truly deep was her feeling.
Both gentle was she and docile,
Virtuously careful of her person.
In thinking of her deceased lord,
She stimulated worthless me. [Note 1.]

The use of fermented spirits made from grain seemed to have been associated with all festivities in China from the earliest time. We here present three Odes dealing with these festivities as they appeared to the early Chinese.

1. Heavy lies the dew ;
Nothing but the sun can dry it.
Happily and long into the night we drink,—
Till all are drunk, there is no retiring.

2. Heavy lies the dew,
On that luxuriant grass.
Happily and long into the night we drink ;—
In the honored apartment we complete (our carousal).

(The word "carousal" is not in the Chinese text, but Professor Legge supplies it to finish the English sentence.)

3. Heavy lies the dew,
On those willows and jujube trees.
Distinguished and true are my noble guests,—
Every one of excellent virtue.

4. From the tong and the i
Their fruit hangs down.

---

1. Odes, I, III, III, 3, 4.

詩經 卷二 燕燕

三 燕燕于飛.下上其音.之子于歸.遠送于南.瞻望弗及.實勞我心.

四 仲氏任只.其心塞淵.終溫且惠.淑慎其身.先君之思.以勗寡人.

Happy and self-possessed are my noble guests,—
Every one of them of excellent deportment.
[Note 1.]

1. The cricket is in the hall,
And the year is drawing to a close.
If we do not enjoy ourselves now,
The days and months will be leaving us.
But let us not go to great excess;
Let us first think of the duties of our position;
Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment.
The good man is anxious and thoughtful.

2. The cricket is in the hall
And the year is passing away.
If we do not enjoy ourselves now
The days and months will have gone.
But let us not go to great excess;
Let us first send our thoughts beyond the present;
Let us be not wild in our love of enjoyment.
The good man is ever diligent.

3. The cricket is in the hall,
And our carts stand unemployed.
If we do not enjoy ourselves now,
The days and months will have gone by,
But let us not go to an excess;
Let us first think of the griefs that may arise;
Let us not be wild in our enjoyment.
The good man is quiet and serene. [Note 2.]

---

1. Odes, II, II, X, 1, 2, 3, 4.

詩經 卷四 湛露

一 湛湛露斯.匪陽不晞.厭厭夜飲.不醉無歸.
二 湛湛露斯.在彼豐草.厭厭夜飲.在宗載考.
三 湛湛露斯.在彼杞棘.顯允君子.莫不令德.
四 其桐其椅.其實離離.豈弟君子.莫不令儀.

2. Odes, I, X, I, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷三 蟋蟀

一 蟋蟀在堂.歲聿其莫.今我不樂.日月其除.無已大康.
職思其居.好樂無荒.良士瞿瞿.
二 蟋蟀在堂.歲聿其逝.今我不樂.日月其邁.無已大康.
職思其外.好樂無荒.良士蹶蹶.
三 蟋蟀在堂.役車其休.今我不樂.日月其慆.無已大康.
職思其憂.好樂無荒.良士休休.

V. *Military Activities.*

In approaching the Odes which express military sentiments, we must notice the emphasis that is placed on personal dignitaries, grand equipment, orderly arrangement, the refined, gentlemanly character of the whole enterprise, and especially the effort that is made not to disturb the agricultural activities of the people. We first quote one of the Odes in full to show the general ideal of military undertakings.

1. Grandly and clearly
The king gave charge to his ministers,
A descendant of Lau-chong,
The grandmaster Huang-fu,
'Put my six armies in order,
And get ready all my apparatus of war.
Be reverent, be cautious,
That we may give *comfort to the states of the south*'.

2. The king said to the Head of the Yin clan,
'Give a charge to Hou-fu, earl of Ching,
To undertake the arrangement of the rank,
And to warn all my troop.
Along the bank of the Huai,
We go to see the land of Sen.
Not delaying our march, not occupying the territory,
That the three fold labors of husbandry may proceed in order'.

3. Full of grandeur and strength,
The Son of Heaven looked majestic;
Leisurely and calmly, the king advanced,
Not with his troops in masses nor in broken lines,
The region of Sen from stage to stage is moved;
It shook and was terrified, the region of Sen.
As by the roll of thunder or its sudden crash,
The region of Sen shook and was terrified.

4. The king aroused his warlike energy,
As if he were moved with anger.
He advanced with tiger-like officers,
Looking fierce like raging tigers;
He displayed his masses along the bank of the Huai.
And forthwith seized a crowd of captives.
Securely kept was the country about the bank of the Huai,
Occupied by the royal armies.

5. The royal legions were numerous;
Swift as if they flew on wings,
Imposing as the current of the Kiang and the Han;
Firm as a mountain;
Rolling on as a stream;
Continuous and orderly;
Inscrutable, invincible;
Grandly proceeding to set in order the states of Sen.

6. The king's plans were directed in truth and sincerity,
And the region of Sen came at once to terms;
Its chiefs were all collected together,—
Through the merit of the Son of Heaven.
The country was all reduced to order;
Its chiefs appeared before the king,
They would not again change their minds;
And the king said, 'Let us return.' [Note 1.]

---

1. Odes, III, III, IX, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

詩經 卷七 常武

一 赫赫明明.王命卿士.南仲大祖.大師皇父.整我六師.
以修我戎.既敬既戒.惠此南國.

二 王謂尹氏.命程伯休父.左右陳行.戒我師旅.率彼淮浦.
省此徐土.不留不處.三事就緒.

三 赫赫業業.有嚴天子.王舒保作.匪紹匪遊.徐方繹騷.
震驚徐方.如雷如霆.徐方震驚.

四 王奮厥武.如震如怒.進厥虎臣.闞如虓虎.鋪敦淮濆.
仍執醜虜.截彼淮浦.王師之所.

五 王旅嘽嘽.如飛如翰.如江如漢.如山之苞.如川之流.
緜緜翼翼.不測不克.濯征徐國.

六 王猶允塞.徐方既來.徐方既同.天子之功.四方既平.
徐方來庭.徐方不回.王曰還歸.

The effort seems to have been to overawe rather than to destroy their opponents. Banners, ornaments, bells, robes, knee covers, girdle pendents, are items of special interest.

2. They were gathering the white millet,
In those new fields,
And all about those villages,
When Fang Shuh came to take command.
His chariots were three thousand;
His banners with their blazonry of dragons and of serpents and tortoises fluttered gaily.
Fang Shuh led them on,
The naves of his wheels bound with leather, and his yoke ornamented.
Tinkle-tinkle went the eight bells at the horses' bits.
He wore the robes conferred by the king;
His red knee-covers were resplendent,
And the gems of his girdle pendent sounding.

This glorious array seems to have been quite effective, for the writer continues:

4. Foolish were the savage tribes of Ching,
Presuming to oppose our great region.
Fang Shuh is of great age,
But full of vigor were his plans.
He led his army on,
Seized the chiefs for the question, and made captives of a crowd besides.
Numerous were his war chariots;
Numerous and in grand array. [Note 1.]

---

1. Odes, II, III, IV, 2, 4.

詩經 卷五 (采芑)

二 薄言采芑.于彼新田.于此中鄉.方叔涖止.其車三千.
旂旐央央.方叔率止.約軧錯衡.八鸞瑲瑲.服其命服.
朱芾斯皇.有瑲葱珩.

四 鉦人伐鼓.陳師鞠旅.方叔元老.克壯其猶.方叔率止.
執訊獲醜.戎車嘽嘽.嘽嘽焞焞.

We see something of the motives for military effort in the following ode, describing an expedition against the warriors of the north.

1. In the sixth month all was bustle and excitement,
The war carriages had been made ready,
With the four steeds (of each) strong and eager;
And the regular accoutrements had been placed in the carriages.
The Hsien-yuin were in blazing force,
And thence was urgency.
The king had ordered the expedition,
To deliver the royal kingdom.

The second stanza concludes with the expression of the purpose:

2. To help the Son of Heaven.

The third stanza concludes with the words:

Discharging his military service,
And settling thereby the royal kingdom. [Note 1.]

As summarizing the whole purpose of warfare in establishing permanent peace, we may quote one stanza from another ode:

2. Large flowed the Kiang and the Han,
And grandly martial looked the troops.
The whole country had been reduced to order.
And an announcement of our success had been made to the king.

---

1. Odes, II, III, III, 1.

詩經 卷五 (六月)

一 六月棲棲.戎車既飭.四牡騤騤.載是常服.獫狁孔熾.
我是用急.王于出征.以匡王國.

二 以佐天子.

三 共武之服.以定王國.

When the whole country was pacified,
The king's state began to feel settled.
There was then an end of strife,
And the king's heart was composed. [Note 1.]

We have seen in odes already quoted, how the soldiers were quite frank in expressing their homesickness and their preference for the peaceful life of the fireside. The Book of Odes, as a whole, would lead us to think that this was quite the common and normal way of feeling about the matter. We may contrast it with the Spartan or Japanese type of soldier.

1. Minister of War,
We are the claws and teeth of the king.
Why have you rolled us into this sorrow,
So that we have no abiding place?

2. Minister of War,
We are the taloned soldiers of the king.
Why have you rolled us into this sorrow,
So there is no end of our toils?

3. Minister of War,
You have indeed acted without discrimination.
Why have you rolled us into this sorrow,
So that *our mothers have to do all the labor of cooking?* [Note 2.]

---

1. Odes, III, III, VIII.

詩經 卷七 江漢

二 江漢湯湯.武夫洸洸.經營四方.告成於王.四方既平.
王國庶定.時靡有爭.王心載寧.

2. Odes, II, IV, I, 1, 2, 3.

詩經 卷五 祁父

一 祁父.予王之爪牙.胡轉予于恤.靡所止居.
二 祁父.予王之爪士.胡轉予于恤.靡所底止.
三 祁父.亶不聰.胡轉予于恤.有母之尸饔.

1. The fretted waters
Do not carry on their current a bundle of firewood!
Those the members of our families,
Are not with us here guarding the Shen.
How we think of them! How we think of them!
What month shall we return home? [Note 1.]

From all this literature we judge that warfare in its more serious aspects was considered by the Chinese only as a necessary evil. They never glory in the fighting. They glory in the display of the royal equipage, the dignity of their heroes, the orderliness of their procedure, the tiger-like fierceness of their appearance, and in the meek submission of their opponents who were over-awed by it all.

Again we must introduce King Wu in his charge to his army on the battle field of Mu, where he was to defeat the great hosts of the Shang rulers. [Note 2.]

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1. Odes, I, VI, IV, 1.

詩經 卷二 揚之水

一 揚之水.不流東薪.彼其之子.不與我戍申.懷哉懷哉.
曷月予還歸哉.

2. History, V, II, 1, 7-9.

尙書 牧誓

一 時甲子昧爽.王朝至于商郊牧野.乃誓.王左杖黃鉞.
右秉白旄以麾.曰.

七 今日之事.不愆于六步七步.乃止齊焉.夫子勗哉.

八 不愆于四伐五伐六伐七伐.乃止齊焉.勗哉夫子.

九 尙桓桓.如虎如貔.如熊如羆.于商郊.弗迓克奔.以役西土.
勗哉夫子.

"The time was gray dawn of the day, Chia-tzi. On that morning the king came to the open country of Mu, in the borders of Shang and addressed his army. In his left hand he carried a battle axe, yellow with gold, and in his right he held a white ensign which he waved, saying, '. . . . In to-day's business do not advance more than six or seven steps, and then stop and adjust your ranks:—my brave men, be energetic! Do not exceed four blows, five blows, six blows or seven blows, and then stop and adjust your ranks;—My brave men, be energetic! Display martial bearing. Be like tigers and panthers, like bears and grisly bears. Do not rush on those who fly in submission, but receive them to serve our western lands (as our subjects)'."

We may wonder how such military tactics could ever have been successful. Doubtless the saying, 'Do not advance more than six or seven steps and then stop and adjust your ranks', is only a picturesque way of saying, 'Make perfect order your first consideration'. And in hand-to-hand conflict nothing is more important than orderliness. But we must believe that these early Chinese leaders understood the psychology of warfare better than its murderous practices. Their conflict generally was between the royal troops from the central states on the one hand, with their elaborate organization,

their more perfect weapons, their appearance of civilization with all its glories; and on the other, the scattered representatives of wild tribes who had long been taught that the Son of Heaven represented all the glory, order, and power of the universe.

In such a situation the early Chinese military activities were developed along the lines of least resistance with the resulting tendencies which we have just described.

The homogeneity of their own population and the great distance from any powerful, hostile peoples, have made extensive warfare unnecessary. Peaceful human society has always been the ideal and the common standard of life. Petty strife has indeed existed. Kings and princes have had their conflicts, but the people have kept up a fairly peaceful life in the midst of these struggles. Never in the whole history of China has any extensive population risen up in a war of extermination against another people, nor has the practice of getting slaves by warfare ever prevailed in China.

Even the aboriginal tribes, which have always lived within the Chinese territory, have been generally satisfied with blustering battles, robbery and pillage. The Chinese have responded by sharing their civilization with these peoples, and sending occasional expeditions in punishment for particular outrages.

The tribes of the north have presented a more serious problem. The Huns, Mongols, and Manchus have stimulated the chief military efforts of the Chinese for nearly three thousand years. But even this has not developed a military spirit.

The Chinese have sometimes met these warriors with superior organization and method in their warfare, and when these would not avail the Chinese have been conquered, but have made their conquerors adopt the Chinese civilization, in order to rule the country.

We must notice a discussion of this subject in which Prof. Legge quotes the marquis D'Hervey Saint Denys as follows:

"The Iliad is the most ancient poem of the west, the only one which can be of use to us by way of comparison in judging of the two civilizations which developed parallelly under conditions so different, at the two extremes of the inhabited earth. On one side are warlike life; sieges without end; combatants who challenge one another; the sentiment of military glory which animates in the same degree the poet and his heroes. We feel ourselves in the midst of a camp. On the other side are regrets for the domestic hearth; the homesickness of a young soldier who ascends a mountain to try to discern at a distance the house of his father; a mother whom Sparta would have rejected from her walls; a brother who counsels the absent

one not to make his race illustrious, but above all things to return home. We feel ourselves in another world, in I know not what atmosphere of quietude and of country life. The reason is simple. Three or four times conquered by the time of Homer, Greece became warlike as her invaders. Uncontested mistress of the most magnificent valleys of the globe, China behooved to remain pacific as her first colonists had been.'' But Prof. Legge quotes this only to say that Saint Denys has fallen into error. He says, "there are not a few odes which breathe a warlike spirit with great ardor.'' But on investigation we see that there are none at all which glory in bloodshed and aggressive warfare. They glory only in the dignity, wisdom and skilful tactics of their leaders, the orderly progress of their armies and the stable government which follows.

Legge says, "Probably there is no country in the world which has drunk in so much blood from its battles, sieges, and massacres as China." There is much to be said in support of this contention. But Prof. Legge's statement of the case overlooks entirely the fact, that the most of the blood has been shed by non-Chinese peoples or wilder Chinese tribes, which were not yet absorbed into the civilized states. The Chinese people have often been at the mercy of cruel princes and warriors, but the fact remains that

Chinese popular sentiment has always favored peace and abhorred warfare. It is just on this subject of the sentiment involved that Saint Denys is right, and Legge is wrong.

Conclusion.

We can best see the meaning of this whole study if we contrast the Chinese development, with some historic tendencies in the Western world.

European civilization is the result of many streams of culture; Persian, Babylonian, Semitic and Egyptian. In all of these countries the political organization culminated in absolute monarchy. Despotism appeared in every land.

In some of these countries there was gradually built up a system of laws which the monarch himself must respect. "The laws of the Medes and Persians which change not" is typical of a long social process. The emphasis on laws and legalism finds expression also in Jewish and Roman institutions.

In the West, the ancient civilizations grew up in restricted areas. The more civilized groups were in frequent conflict with the wild hunters and herdsmen of the borderland. When they met other civilized peoples they found a strange race and a strange type of civilization; they carried with them their antagonism to outside peoples, and war was the result.

Civilization itself was built up largely by the conquest of these hostile peoples. Life was organized on the military basis. The individual soldier was the unit of society. A young man was worth more to the clan than his father. The family existed as a biological necessity, but could not hold its place as the dominant type of social organization. Individual warriors, individual citizens, individualistic despotism, individualistic republics; this is the tendency in western organization.

As one nation after another triumphed and made the others subject to it, there was a mingling of many types of civilization. Scattered peoples were thrown together. Provincial notions were overthrown. Naïve assumptions were disturbed. Primitive faiths appeared inadequate. Racial characteristics and religions were analyzed. Comparisons and contrasts occupied the attention of thinkers. Abstract reasoning developed and philosophies were built up. In the Semitic world there was also gradually developed a striking dualism. A heavenly kingdom was to appear in contrast with this earthly kingdom. The perfect and absolute deity was contrasted with sinful and finite men. The soul was contrasted with the body. The whole tendency of thought was toward distinctions and contrasts, rather than unity and harmony.

The mingling of all these tendencies in the later Greek and Latin philosophies led to the

construction of an elaborate ideal world of truth and reality, which was independent of all human experience, and gave the pattern for all human thought. A man had learned the truth when he came to have ideas which fitted perfectly this pattern world.

The mingling of strange peoples with strange commodities also led naturally to the development of trade. Men came together for the sake of commerce rather than for personal association. They met as traders, not as sympathetic fellowmen. Business communications were independent of personal relationships. This intermingling greatly increased the tendency to abstract thought.

The Middle Ages combined these tendencies in a political, philosophical and theological absolutism which dominated the whole view of life. The modern reaction towards freedom, equality and fraternity, necessarily followed such an extreme development.

Absolute authority, abstract laws, abstract truth, abstract justice, individual rights, individual freedom, and independence; these are expressions of Occidental tendencies and points of view.

All of this was unknown in China. The technique of abstract thinking was undeveloped; for the Chinese had no chance to stand off and look at themselves from the position of another

civilization. Their social system appeared as a part of nature itself. There was no occasion for analysis and philosophical statement. Every one had naïve faith in the social system. Who could possibly question its ultimate standing? There were no scales by which to weigh, no standards by which to judge, except those which their own society might offer.

After this brief survey and comparison with Western tendencies, we are ready for a constructive statement of the conclusions of our study.

We have seen that the Chinese civilization grew up in the fertile valley of the Yellow river, where there was a homogeneous, agricultural population, and where all natural tendencies were favorable to the development of peaceful domestic life. The great stimulus to progress was in satisfying the wants and harmonizing the relationships of their own group life. The people had leisure for reflection on the meaning of their social order. Human society was the chief object of attention. Not only were the social privileges and honors which every human being desires mediated through this social order, but the common goods of life were also prizes to be gained by social adaptation. Control of the land belonged nominally to the Emperor who assigned it to the feudal princes and heads of families. Hence wealth was gotten through social leadership rather than commercial enter-

prise. Even the common laborers were dependent on family and social standing for the means of earning a livelihood. The Emperor himself held his position through his family connections and through his own attainment in the social order. Every one from the Emperor on the throne to the poorest laborer in the fields was dependent on the favor of society, and on his own adaptation to the demands of society, for all the privileges and satisfactions of life. Even the mating process with all the impulses and charms of sex, were under the control of the social organism to an unusual degree. The choice of a mate rested largely with the older members of the family. Not only the social standing of the family, but also the social qualities of the individual were elements to be considered in the discussion of a marriage prospect. The men who belonged to princely and royal families, had not only the best choice of wives but also might add to their number in accordance with their rank, and with fixed social regulations. From youth to old age, it appears that the importance of the family relationships was the central theme of instruction. Parenthood was most highly honored, and all ethical demands were stated in the terms of the Five Relationships, between ruler and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, friend and friend.

As there was increasing honor with the advance of age, so the departed ancestors held the highest place in each family, and were thought of as still sanctioning the standards of human society. They also appeared to retain their old authority in dealing with the members of their households.

Added to all these sanctions, there was the conviction that Heaven was the moral sponsor of the universe. This conviction that Heaven demanded righteousness gave the real foundation for this whole social order. Even the sun, moon, and stars, the hills and the streams, the birds and the animals all joined in demanding an orderly human society as the basis of peace in their special realms.

It would seem difficult to conceive of a moral system which could be more thoroughly supported by all social, celestial, and natural forces than was this ancient Chinese system.

In private conversation, Dr. Berthold Laufer has described the Chinese political organization as a theocracy, a hierarchy, which might well be compared to the Roman Catholic Church. As we see the vital religious sanctions which support this whole system, we will feel the force of such a comparison. The Emperor and the princes had definite religious functions. Just because the whole system was religious, there was no need for religious specialists. All the

interests of society, religious, moral, social, political, and economic, were bound up in the one system. To oppose the system meant to oppose the whole world. To act in harmony with the demands of the social order was to fill all of the requirements of the universe. These demands varied with the station of each individual, but none could escape them. The Emperor was no less subject to these moral demands than the humblest laborer. In fact, the Emperor must be the pattern of morality for all people. He was no absolute monarch whose arbitrary will was final for all men. He held the appointment of Heaven, but that appointment was "not to be depended upon" if he failed to consider the wants of the people and the standards of society. The first and only real despot to sit on a Chinese throne was the semi-foreign Tsin-shi-huang-ti who ruled three centuries after the time of Confucius; and who found it necessary to overthrow the whole system of antiquity and burn the books and the scholars in order to maintain his despotism. He was not, however, the first skeptic to question the authority of this scheme of life. One of the later Kings of the Shan dynasty, Wu-yih (B. C. 1198-1194), had ridiculed these pious theories, and spoken boldly in defiance of Heaven. These rulers, however, were despised by their own and all later generations; and the dynasties which they repre-

sented were soon overthrown. We may agree with the Chinese sages that such a penalty is the natural result of the defiance of social standards.

Probably the most striking contrast between China and Japan is in the fact that China has always had definite moral standards by which to judge the Emperor. In Japan the Emperor is absolute and makes the standards for the people. In China the social order is supreme. The people and the sages have made the standards for the Emperor.

This is said in full recognition of the fact that the Chinese are a conservative and long suffering people, that they will endure much ill government before revolting. But the fact remains that when aroused they have overthrown dynasty after dynasty, and now have overthrown the monarchy and undertaken the establishment of a new type of government.

We maintain that the outstanding characteristic of the Chinese people is not superstition, on the one hand, nor materialism on the other, but just this emphasis upon the personal relationships. Chinese society must be explained in terms of the family and of the morality which characterizes the primary groups. The Chinese people are little inclined to abstract speculation and philosophical reasoning, but they are peculiarly sensitive to the demands of human society and to the meaning of particular social situa-

tions. It is this sensitiveness to social considerations which has given rise to the peculiarly Chinese expression, "face."

In conclusion, we must recognize that in the time of Confucius this system was rapidly approaching a crisis. The population had been multiplying until people were beginning to crowd upon one another. Trade was rapidly increasing. Comforts and luxuries were multiplying and adding to human wants. The more distant tribes were sharing the civilization, and their princes were thirsting for recognition and power.

Quite naturally, a great era of conflict was approaching, and Confucius appears in the midst of it. He preached the old moral ideals; but strove to extend their range to meet the new situation.

He met with little success in his own age; for China was breaking some of the bands of the past, and passing through an era of conflict into a newer and larger civilization. But when the larger Chinese world came to define its ideals, it accepted Confucius as its master; and the old patriarchal system of early ages was the foundation upon which the later centuries have worked out the moral system which still survives.

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